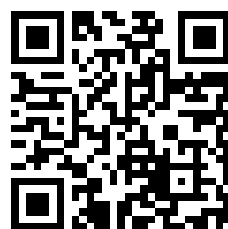


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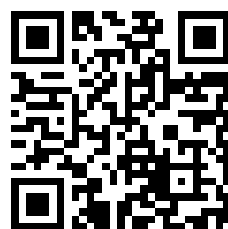


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# THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

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# The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1924

## EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

THE Classical Association met at Westminster School, on January 3 to 5. The special attraction was the Presidential address on 'The Classics in France,' which the Marquess of Crewe came over from Paris to deliver. It was scholarly and fascinating, and showed profound knowledge of French history and a sympathetic understanding of the French point of view. The address which Lord Finlay has recently delivered to the Scottish Association would form an excellent complement, if the two papers could be published in pamphlet form. Miss Skeel delighted her hearers by an account of 'Medieval Travellers to Rome.' Mr. Vernon Rendall illustrated the hold Horace has always had on the best English thought, by abundance of quotation and witty comment. Mr. F. E. Adcock gave a delightful paper on 'Greek Diplomacy,' and Professor J. A. K. Thomson on 'Greek Irony' was interesting and suggestive. Mr. Stanley Casson gave a lantern lecture on 'Recent Discoveries of Greek Sculpture.' The afternoon, devoted to recent developments in school teaching, was well spent. The President and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians kindly gave a reception to the members on Thursday evening, at which they brought out all their treasures of books and plate. It was a privilege to see their collection of portraits. As Linacre may be regarded as their founder, nothing could be more appropriate than this visit. On Saturday afternoon, Canon Westlake kindly escorted a party round the Abbey and its buildings, and proved himself as ideal a guide as he is a lecturer. The attendance was not so large as on some previous occasions; but Mr. Herbert Fisher took the trouble to come and move a vote of thanks to Lord Crewe, and the Headmaster of Westminster was a kindly host. A tone of hopeful confidence characterised the whole proceedings. It was obvious that Dr. Mackail's visit to Australia

had borne fruit in reviving classical enthusiasm there. The same keenness is reported from New Zealand. The number of local branches in England and Wales has now risen to eighteen, and the veteran teacher Professor Postgate, who was enthusiastically elected President for 1924, will find that the Association, in the foundation of which he was the prime mover, is thriving and growing every year. It ought to be a point of honour with every classical teacher in the country to belong to it. United we stand; divided we fall. If the membership is doubled — it is now over 2,000 — our opinion can no longer be ignored.

All who saw the Cambridge *Oresteia* in 1921, and many who missed that production, will be interested to learn that the Cambridge Greek Play Committee is again at work. On the evenings of February 26, 27, 28, 29 and March 1, and on the afternoons of Thursday, February 28, and Saturday, March 1, the *Birds* of Aristophanes will be acted by members of the University in Greek, with Sir Hubert Parry's music. The costumes and scenery will be designed by Mr. Duncan Grant, the musical directors will be Dr. Charles Wood and Mr. Bernhard Ord, and the producers will be Mr. J. T. Sheppard and Mr. J. Burnaby, who were jointly responsible for the *Oresteia*. The acting edition, with a verse translation by Mr. Sheppard, will shortly be published by Bowes and Bowes (price 3s. 6d., English only 2s.). Reserved seats—Stalls and dress circle, 4s. 9d., 5s. 9d., 7s. 6d., and 10s. 6d., pit stalls, 3s. 6d.—can be booked by post. Letters, with remittances, should be addressed to the 'Box Office Manager, New Theatre, Cambridge,' and should reach the Theatre on or before Monday, February 18. Readers will do a service to the Committee if they will make this performance widely known.

## 'ON THE KNEES OF THE GODS.'

Ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται (Homer, *Il.* XVII. 514, XX. 435; *Od.* I. 267, 400, XVI. 129)—'It lies on the knees of the gods.' This famous phrase, still current, is a picturesque way of saying that the future of some issue rests with a higher power whose will is not yet known. While this, its general significance, is clear, its origin is lapped in obscurity. Ancient scholiasts and modern scholars alike have failed to give any satisfactory answer to the question: 'What mental image must be reconstructed to explain why the gods' knees are mentioned?' The ancients were content to offer various equally inconclusive interpretations, and the moderns do little more than hesitatingly to defend one or other of these. There is usually a 'perhaps' in their suggestions, and the best they can do is to show the futility of rival theories. Whatever their choice, their method, as also that of the scholiasts, has been almost uniformly the same—namely, to seek the truth in one or other of the various explicit uses of γούνατα in Homer, as symbols of strength, as clasped in supplication, or as the lap of the god whereon gifts were dedicated. There is none other which could conceivably apply; and, apart from slight modifications of the above, there remain only two other suggestions—one that of a scholiast, which for its apparent nonsense has been ignored; and the other, that hesitatingly supported by Merry and Riddell (note to *Od.* I. 267) on the basis of a παροιμία, which runs: πέντε κριτῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. It is sufficient to read their applications of the latter and to examine the paroemiographer's explanation: παροιμιῶδες, οἶον ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ εἰσίν. εἴρηται δὲ ἡ παροιμία παρόσον πέντε κριταὶ τοὺς κωμικοὺς ἔκρινον, ὥς φησιν Ἐπίχαρμος. σύγκειται οὖν παρὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν, θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ κριταὶ ἐν τοῖς γούνασιν ἔχον ἃ νῦν εἰς γραμματεῖα γράφεται (Zenobius III. 64). If this phrase originated with reference to the five judges of competitions in comedy, possibly in the mind of Epicharmus himself (*vide* fr. 229, Kaibel), it would seem to be later than Homer, while in

any case the paroemiographer's explanation shows that he is only groping after a meaning, and can but take refuge in vagueness. His last clauses will scarcely bear analysis. It appears that instead of explaining, this phrase is rather derivative from the Homeric figure, and presupposes it, being a natural parody to suit a particular issue.

There is another way of attack, apparently as yet untried—namely, to examine the forms under which the Homeric Greek conceived the gods as controlling the fortunes of men. Direct personal relations, in which the god commands, inspires, or blinds a man, are clearly not in point. Some mode of conceiving divine causation in general is required. Μοῖρα and Αἴσα are usually not spoken of in direct relationship with the gods, and where they are they do not appear to throw any light on the present question. In one passage indeed (*Il.* XXIV. 527) Zeus is described as mixing the lives of men from jars on or in the ground, but that does not help. There remains only one other expression, with several kindred phrases that may be considered later. It is ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοί, which with slight modifications occurs eight times in Homer: *Il.* XXIV. 525; *Od.* I. 17, III. 208, IV. 208, VIII. 579, XI. 139, XVI. 64, XX. 196. Thus in *Od.* I. 16 the poet describes how Calypso detained Odysseus:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν  
τῷ οἱ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι  
εἰς Ἰθάκην, οὐδ' ἐνθα πεφυγμένος ἦεν ἀέθλων.

It is the same image that is used of Μοῖρα and Αἴσα, an image which seems to dominate ancient thought in the expression of divine causation. Here on *a priori* grounds the seeker might expect to find the explanation of a phrase, the only certain meaning of which is that the determination of the future rests with the gods.

What is the process of spinning? The details of method in any particular age of Greece are by no means clear, and for the Homeric and earlier ages there is virtually no direct evidence. Only thus much is clear, that it was usually done sitting, since so almost

always Homer describes the spinners (e.g. *Od.* XVII. 97). Under such conditions there are certain essential details which may be accepted from general practice elsewhere. From wool held in or passed over the raised left hand a wisp is drawn down by the right and fastened to the spindle, which is then spun by the fingers of the same hand. When a certain amount had been drawn out the spindle would reach the knees, and when just above them could be most comfortably spun. If, however, the spinner desired, it might be allowed to pass over the right knee, the latter being perhaps slightly withdrawn, and the process continued until it reached the ground, when the amount just spun was wound round the spindle and its upper end fixed in the notch or hook of the latter to prevent its unwinding. The same process was then repeated. There are, however, variations and complications. Thus Kimakowicz<sup>1</sup> describes a primitive method of spinning together several threads: 'The spinner sits on a stool and holds in her raised left hand a spindle suspended from the yarn so as almost to touch the ground; the right hand then places the lower end of the spindle flat on the right leg above the knee, and with a sharp rub of the palm slides it off so as to give it a rapid and lasting rotation as it hangs.' That portion is then wound up and the process repeated. This may be the explanation of the bas-relief from the Forum of Nerva, illustrated under 'Fusus' in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*. A similar method is shown in representations<sup>2</sup> of slave-women in ancient Egypt. One of the latter, standing, appears to have raised her right knee and to rotate the spindle between it and the flat of her right hand with a rolling motion like that last described. This or a kindred use is probably the purpose of the *ἐπίνητρον*, a tapering hemicylinder of wood or earthenware, with one end closed and rounded so as to fit over the bent knee. It is this, as

Blümner plausibly conjectures, which is shown in a defective vase-painting (*Techn. und Term.*, Fig. 41) on the right knee of a seated woman. On it she has the flat of her right hand; her left is raised as if holding wool or a distaff. Of this *ἐπίνητρον*, Pollux VII. 32 says: *ἐφ' οὗ δὲ νήθουσι ἢ νῶσι ἐπίνητρον καλεῖται καὶ ὄνος*. Similarly Hesychius: *ἐπίνητρον · ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν κρόκην τρίβουσιν*; and the *Et. Magn.* 262, 20: *ἐπίνητρον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων ἐφ' οὗ τὴν κρόκην ἔνθηον*. *νήθειν* and *νεῖν* are usually indistinguishable in meaning from *κλώθειν*, and seem to form at least a part of the spinning process (cf. *Od.* VII. 197, and IV. 208 *infra*)—possibly the rubbing of the wool thread between hand and knee to help the spinning and ensure smoothness, this when the spindle is already lower than the latter. Blümner (*ib.*, p. 119) thinks the *ἐπίνητρον* was used before and after the spindle, but does not face the possibility that it might be used with it. In any case, however, and whatever the method, it is plain that the knees play at least some part in the process of spinning.

There is further confirmation in a passage hitherto neglected by Homeric scholars—Plato's picture of 'Ανάγκη, in the whorls of whose spindle are set the stars and planets (*Rep.* X. 616c). Of this spindle he says, *στρέφεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀνάγκης γόνασιν* (617b), and it is with it that the *μοῖρα* of each soul about to be born is made valid by the spinning (*ἐπικλώθειν*) of the *Μοῖραι*, *Κλωθώ* and *Ἄτροπος*. Of the latter the word used is *νήσις* (620e). Such adaptation of Homer is completely in the Platonic manner, and it becomes almost certainly deliberate when we compare such lines as *Od.* VII. 197

πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα κατὰ κλώθες τε βαρεῖαι  
γεινομένη νήσαντο Νινψό τε μιν τέκε μήτηρ

and IV. 208

ρεῖα δ' ἀπ' ἀργυροῦ γόνος ἀνέρος φ' τε Κρονίων  
δλβον ἐπικλώσῃ γαμέωντί τε γεινομένη τε.

For *νήσαντο* in the first of these *ἐπένησε* is twice used in similar contexts of the *Iliad* (XX. 128, XXIV. 210) with *Αἴσα* and *Μοῖρα* respectively; but in Homer

<sup>1</sup> *Spinn- und Webwerkzeuge, Entwicklung und Anwendung in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit Europas*, Würzburg, 1910, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Sir G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, 1878, Vol. I., p. 378, Fig. 8, from the wall-paintings of Beni Hassan.



it is with the gods rather than either of these last that the verbs ἐπικλωθεῖν, etc., are most frequently used. Here, then, Plato would seem to be following him, save that he has substituted the Pythagorean Ἀνάγκη for the gods or Μοῖρα, retaining only the latter as helping to spin. It seems just to infer that this was his interpretation of the phrase θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται—one which, perhaps as traditional, he expected to be recognised and to add authority to his myth. This is made the more likely in that he uses the word ἡλακάτη for the shaft of the spindle, whereas its ordinary meaning was 'distaff,' an article which he does not mention. Adam and others, after Proclus, are driven to explain this as a verbal play on ἐηλάσθαι, but that, though it might supervene, can by no means explain the perversion. Homer too, however, like Plato, seems to mention only one instrument of spinning besides the τάλαρος, and that the ἡλακάτη, which, despite Blümner and the general consensus of translators and commentators, means not 'distaff,' but 'spindle' (*vide infra*). This also would make it appear as if there were a tradition, and Plato were trying to be archaeologically exact.

This same passage of the *Republic* contains what may possibly be an alternative explanation of the phrase, drawn either from a rival tradition or from Plato's own thought. It is that of 'lots,' which, without the evidence of this passage before them, modern scholars have mentioned only to reject. A few lines after saying of the spindle στρέφεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀνάγκης γόνασιν (617b), Plato proceeds with the pilgrimage of the soul: Σφᾶς οὖν ἐπειδὴ ἀφικέσθαι, εὐθὺς δεῖν ἵεναι πρὸς τὴν Λάχεσιν. προφήτην οὖν τινα σφᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τάξει διαστήσαι, ἔπειτα λαβόντα ἐκ τῶν τῆς Λαχέσεως γονάτων κλήρους τε καὶ βίων παραδείγματα . . . εἰπεῖν . . . ψυχὰι ἐφήμεροι, ἀρχὴ ἄλλης περιόδου θνητοῦ γένους θανατηφόρου. οὐχ ὑμᾶς δαίμων λήξεται ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς δαίμονα αἰρήσεσθε. πρῶτος δ' ὁ λαχὼν πρῶτος αἰρείσθω βίον ᾧ συνέσται ἐξ ἀνάγκης . . . ταῦτα εἰπόντα ῥίψαι ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κλήρους. This prenatal allotment is in some degree parallel to *Il.* XXIII. 78 :

ἐμὲ μὲν κῆρ  
ἀμφέχευε στυγερή, ἥ περ λάχε γιγνόμενον περ.

(In Plato the responsibility is fixed on the soul in order to exculpate the Fates.) This, however, appears to be the only instance of such a conception in Homer, and even so it is not brought into any relation with the gods. The δαίμων, guardian spirit of life, is by no means the same as the κῆρ στυγερή which seizes at death. Further, λαβόντα ἐκ τῶν γονάτων is not so near to ἐν γούνασι κείται as στρέφεσθαι ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν. It may be no more than a mere coincidence of expression while the phrase was still running in his head. At all events, if it be a rival explanation, it is not nearly so satisfactory. In Homer lots are never connected with the knees. They are usually shaken in a helmet. Finally, the metaphor simply does not hold, since on Plato's own description, even before the souls emerge into life, it is untrue to say of the lots, ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται. This is not so of thread and spindle. Commenting on Plato, Adam says: 'ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀνάγκης γόνασι is an echo of ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται.' If, however, what goes before holds, it is no mere echo of phrase but the true explanation.

At this point we may return to the apparently foolish scholion mentioned above. It is the Schol. P. to *Od.* I. 267 and 400, and it runs thus: θεῶν ἐν γούνασι. ταῖς τῶν ἀστέρων κινήσεσιν ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν γονάτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων κινήσεως γίνονται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ εἰμαρμένα. For this there is of course absolutely no foundation in Homer. For him the stars have nothing whatever to do with Fate, and are not brought into relation with the gods. The scholiast himself, indeed, was probably acquainted with the underlying assumption of astrology, but such a fanciful comparison of knees and stars, with no middle term, is unthinkable. Hence the suggestion has been ignored as unworthy of consideration. Let us turn to Plato, however. It is strange that Adam (note to 616 c 17) and other commentators, while stressing the irreconcilability of the two conceptions, the spindle of Necessity and the shaft of light, which is the axis of the re-

volving heavens, yet fail to observe his reason for the union and its wonderful fitness despite discrepancies of detail. It is Plato's genius thus to fuse in a single image the astrological notions of the East and the early Hellenic idea of fate as spun. Here indeed we have a convenient middle term for the scholiast, one which, coming fresh from the glowing mind of Plato in such a myth, is indeed easily understood, but which, if omitted in a rather matter-of-fact and discontinuous commentary on Homer, leaves the two extremes incongruous and foreign to each other. It appears not unlikely that the Alexandrian critics had seen the connexion between the Homeric phrase and Plato's spindle of the starry heaven moving on the knees of Necessity, but that in the process of tradition the middle term or image combining them was forgotten, so that the scholiast, true to the tradition as far as he knows it, is driven to invent one for himself, very curiously indeed, in the common motion of knees and stars.

Similar evidence awaits us in Proclus' commentary on the *Republic* (ed. Kroll, p. 227). There he definitely associates the two phrases *ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται* and *στρέφειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀνάγκης γόνασιν*, but in both explains *γόνατα* as *σύμβολα κινητικῶν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς δυνάμεων*. This can be refuted by a reference to Plato alone, where it is plain that the knees have nothing whatever to do with the *motion* of the spindle. Indeed they could not, unless perhaps in some such connexion as that in which the *ἐπίνητρον* was used or that described by Kimakowicz. To this perversion Proclus may have been led by the same scholia—not those just mentioned—which mislead modern commentators, and also by his theory of Ἀνάγκη, in support of which it is introduced. At all events, it does not interfere with the essential fact that Proclus felt Plato to be adapting the phrase of Homer.

All this evidence, coherent and cumulative as it is, has probably escaped the notice of commentators because they looked only to Homer's explicit uses of the word *γόνατα*, and did not naturally connect the usually feminine operation

of spinning with the general plural *θεῶν*. The difficulty disappears when, instead, the mode of conceiving divine causation is studied, and the more numerous passages remembered where *ἐπικλώθειν* is used with *θεοί*, *δαίμων*, and *Κρόνιον*. As a possible though unnecessary confirmation, and for its own interest, there may be mentioned here a lemma of Steph. Byz. *περὶ πόλεων*, to which my attention was called by Mr. A. B. Cook. It runs thus: Ἥλακᾶταιον, ὄρος Θεσσαλίας, ὅπου καὶ Διὸς Ἥλακαταίου ἱερόν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἥλακαταιεύς· καὶ Ζεὺς Ἥλακατεύς. It has, I think, been hitherto assumed that Zeus derives his title from the place, the origin of whose name none seeks; but if we consider the form Ἥλακατεύς, it is exceedingly difficult to believe that it is derived from Ἥλακᾶταιον, and it seems far more natural to regard it as an original cult-title like *Μοιραγέτης*, *Πολιεύς*, *Εὐβουλεύς*, etc., from which, as occasionally elsewhere, the place receives its name. Artemis was called *χρυσηλάκατος* in a different sense (*Od.* IV. 122). The *Κρόνιον* who *ἐπικλώθει* (*vide supra Od.* IV. 208) might well be called Ζεὺς Ἥλακατεύς. There is no need for evidence in Homer that spinning was ever done by men. Spinning and weaving can be traced back to the neolithic age and even earlier.<sup>1</sup> In the dim past, from which such a concept as this almost certainly comes, it may well be that the male ancestors of the Achaeans with the Egyptians of old (*vide Herod.* II. 35; *Soph. O.C.* 339) and some comparatively primitive peoples to-day partook in or even wholly performed the spinning. The shepherd of Trebichow mentioned below is no exception in this. The exchanged attributes of Hercules and Omphale in some representations, where the former has a spindle, are perhaps better explained differently (*vide Daremberg - Saglio*, 'Fusus'). The internal evidence of Homer, however, is sufficient to show that his gods were habitually conceived as spinning what is to be.

Ἥλακᾶτη.—In the various passages of Homer where spinning appears, there are only

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, *Reallexicon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 1901, pp. 791 and 939.

two instruments mentioned, ἡλακάτην τάλαρὸν τε (*Od.* IV. 131), each always in the singular. The former alone is used as the symbol of spinning, as ἰστός of weaving, and frequently occurs with this last to cover woman's sphere. Thus in *Il.* VI. 490 Hector bids Andromache not to be distressed for him :

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμψε,  
ἰστόν τ' ἡλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε  
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι.

The natural inference is that, apart from the τάλαρὸς, the ἡλακάτη is the essential, if not the only, instrument of spinning. What in actual fact is so? The distaff is a stick held in the left hand, under the left arm or in the girdle, and passing through the core of a ball of wool or yarn, from which a thread is drawn down and spun. It is merely a convenient means of holding or carrying the unspun wool and this, when the spinner is sitting, as in Homer, could instead quite well be passed from the knees or a basket (τάλαρος) over the raised left hand, or even wound round the arm (*vide* Blümner, *ib.*, Fig. 39). A. Götz describes an old shepherd of Trebichow who used to spin the wool for his stockings while tending his sheep, and who held the raw wool not on a distaff, but in his pocket, drawing thence the strand to be spun.<sup>1</sup> The real work of spinning is done by the fingers and spindle in one or other of the ways described above. While, therefore, it is quite possible to spin without a distaff, using perhaps, as the ancient Egyptians undoubtedly did, a basket instead,<sup>2</sup> it is utterly impossible to do so without a spindle, wheels and machines of later invention of course not being relevant. But Homer, apart from the τάλαρὸς, mentions only this one instrument, the ἡλακάτη. The conclusion would seem inevitable that ἡλακάτη means spindle. Blümner, however (*ib.*, p. 122), in harmony with all commentators and translators, cites Homer as an authority for the meaning 'distaff,' which the word undoubtedly possessed later.<sup>3</sup> Against

this there are further considerations. In the very passage cited by Blümner (p. 120, note 2) —namely, *Od.* IV. 135—Helen is described as entering to spin with a χρυσή ἡλακάτη, which with a τάλαρὸς had been given her in Egypt. Spindle and basket, as we have seen, were the Egyptians' utensils for spinning. That the χρυσή ἡλακάτη was a spindle is also supported by Homer's description of Calypso as weaving χρυσή κερκίδι (*Od.* V. 62), since the κερκίς in Homer probably means 'spool,'<sup>4</sup> and the spindle appears to have been used in that capacity. Hesychius, Suidas, and Photius define πηνίον, the later word for 'spool,' as ἀτρακτος, ἐν ᾗ εἰλείται ἡ κρόκη. Two pages later Blümner proceeds to explain that distaffs were usually made of reed, so that a particular kind of reed in time came to be called by the same name. This, the lightest of materials, is what we should expect, since usually it has to be held up by the left hand in a position of itself tiring enough. To make or use one of gold would be mere folly. For a spindle, on the other hand, weight is an advantage as keeping the thread taut and adding momentum to the rotation, so much so that Blümner (p. 124) gives as one of the uses of the whorl that it made the spindle heavier. On the archaeological side no metal distaffs, it appears, have been found as against numerous bronze spindles, not to speak of one of silver and another of wood covered with gold leaf (Blümner, pp. 124, 125). At Troy, Schliemann, discovering thousands of what are usually accepted as spindle-whorls, but no relic of a distaff, began to suspect what is here maintained.<sup>5</sup> Were the distaffs of wood, they might be expected to perish with the wooden spindle-shafts; but, even so, charred fragments of a wooden spindle and two bone spindles, one broken, the other complete, have been found.<sup>6</sup> Finally, there is the evidence of Plato quoted above,<sup>7</sup> where, in reproducing an Homeric conception, he calls the shaft of Necessity's spindle ἡλακάτη and mentions no distaff. The shaft is the essential part of the spindle—indeed, the spindle itself—and the whorl an addition not always used. With the advent of the distaff and the arrow-shaped spindle, ἀτρακτος,<sup>8</sup> its name ἡλακάτη might easily pass to the former, a shaft of larger size but similar form, and continue its old association only as a name for the shaft as opposed to the whorl. In any case this evidence, as against later usage, points uniformly to one conclusion—namely, that ἡλακάτη, in Homer at least, means 'spindle,' and that probably distaffs were not then used.

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<sup>1</sup> *Verhandl. der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie u.s.w.*, 1896, p. 473.

<sup>2</sup> See the pictures from Beni Hassan cited above. A similar method still in use among the peasants around Hermannstadt (Siebenbürgen) is described by Kimakowicz, pp. 61-63.

<sup>3</sup> Apart from Homer, Blümner cites nothing earlier than the *Anth. Pal.*, save Eurip. *Orestes*, 1431, which he cites again (p. 227) as illustrating the use of ἐλίσσειν for the turning of the spindle. It runs: ἀ δὲ λίνον ἡλακάτῃ | δακτύλοις ἔλισσε, | νῆμα δ' ἱερο πέδρο. If his meanings for ἐλίσσειν and ἡλακάτῃ are correct, it is difficult to see what kind of dative the latter can be. If, however, ἡλακάτῃ here also means spindle, the sense is simple, and we have another instance of the double instrumental dative, parallel to Sophocles, *Ajax*, 229: περίφαντος ἀνὴρ | θανείται, παραπλήκτω χερὶ συγκατακτὰς | κελανοῖς ξίφεσιν βοτὰ καὶ βοτήρας ἱππονώμας, where χερὶ corresponds to δακτύλοις and ξίφεσι to ἡλακάτῃ.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Ling Roth, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1916, p. 290.

<sup>5</sup> *Troja*, Note XVI.

<sup>6</sup> Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 390 and 400.

<sup>7</sup> *Rep.* X. 616c.

<sup>8</sup> Blümner, Figs. 48 and 53.



## THUCYDIDES AND THE GREEK WALL AT TROY.

Thuc. I. 11. 1 : ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δῆλον δὲ τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἔτειχίσαντο), φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησόμενοι κ.τ.λ.

THE inference in the parenthesis may have been obvious to Thucydides, but it is not obvious to us. Editors suppose the point to be this: *unless the Greeks had won a victory, the Trojans would have driven them into the sea*; but Thucydides could easily have said that in plain words. If this is his meaning, the stress laid upon the fortification of the camp is pointless.

So far from obvious is the inference, that many editors change ἐκράτησαν to ἐκρατήθησαν; the building of the wall then becomes proof of an initial defeat: the Greeks were forced to dig themselves in. This is easier, but not satisfactory. Neglect to fortify the camp might well be taken as a proof of initial victory; but fortification was in itself an obvious precaution, and no proof at all of an initial defeat.

These difficulties are serious enough, but matters become worse when we compare Thucydides with Homer. In the *Iliad* (VII. 337 ff. and 436 ff.) we are told that the wall round the camp was first built, on Nestor's advice, in the tenth year of the war. Thucydides' language obviously suggests that the wall was built soon after the Greeks landed.

This discrepancy has long been recognised, and many explanations have been offered. Classen accepted the scholiast's suggestion that Thucydides referred to an earlier wall, mentioned, thought Classen, in some lost epic; but the *Iliad* is clearly Thucydides' main authority, and this theory is unattractive. Another school, represented in England by Gilbert Murray, seizes on the passage as welcome proof that in Thucydides' *Iliad*, though the wall was mentioned, the occasion of its erection was not. This is a solution which, on

general grounds, I should be very unwilling to accept.

I wish to put forward<sup>1</sup> a simple emendation which makes Thucydides' parenthesis a logical inference from the *Iliad* as we have it. I suggest:

δῆλον δὲ τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν <ἔτει δεκάτῳ> ἔτειχίσαντο.

'That they did win a victory is obvious, for otherwise they would not have built the fortification round their camp in the tenth year of the war.'

This is a perfectly sound point. The building of the Greek wall was a confession that the offensive had passed to the Trojans; its postponement till the tenth year was (as Thucydides saw) a proof that up to then the offensive had lain with the Greeks.

Thucydides in the next sentence speaks of τὰ δέκα ἔτη, a phrase which would follow ἔτει δεκάτῳ very neatly.

The corruption which I postulate is an easy one, especially if we make the reasonable assumption that δεκάτῳ was written ι': <ἔτει ι> ἔτειχίσαντο.

It is generally agreed that several errors in the text of Thucydides are connected with the representation of numerals by letters of the alphabet. Among the more widely accepted corrections of this type may be mentioned: Krüger's τεσσάρων for δέκα in I. 57; Shilleto's ὀκτώ or Haacke's δέκα for τρία in II. 65; Ullrich's ἐπτά καὶ δέκα (ιζ') for ἐξ in V. 18; and Madvig's τριάκοντα for τρία in VIII. 29. Especially close to my proposal is Gertz's attractive correction of II. 34: λάρνακας κυπαρισσίας ἄγουσιν ἄμαξαι <δέκα>, φυλῆς ἐκάστης μίαν.

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<sup>1</sup> Proposed by me at a meeting of the Cambridge Philological Society on November 8, 1923, and briefly published in *Cambridge University Reporter* of December 11, 1923, p. 382.

## THE GREEK FOR A GOLDFINCH.

THE ancient names of beast and bird are seldom easy to interpret, and even when they seem easy may be very difficult. κυών and λέων are plain enough, but γαλή and θάινα are very hard words.

They are apt, moreover, to fall into little groups, where one mistake may lead us on into many blunders, or where one lucky clue may unravel one difficulty after another. To identify the

'Birds of Diomedea,' as I tried once to show (*Class. Rev.*, 1918, p. 92), is to throw light on a long row of hard words: αἰθυα, ἀνοπαῖα, καταρράκτης, κορώνη ἢ εἰνάλιος, ἐρωδιός, ἀρδεα, mergus. Such another little group is the string of names for the Goldfinch and its allies: ἀκανθίς, ἀκανθυλλίς, ἀστραγαλίνος, θραυπίς, ποικιλίς, σπίνος, χρυσομίτρης. Let us see what we can make of these.

Professor Delap, of the University of Indiana, has sent me an unedited fragment of Constantine Manasses, in which the Goldfinch is minutely and unmistakably described; it is the best description of a bird, I think, which I have read either in late or early Greek. It contains many interesting things which Professor Delap will deal with in his own way; the point for me is that the Byzantine Greek calls his bird ἀστραγαλίνος. We know the word already, but none too well. Dionysius (*de Avib.* III. 2) has the name, with the bare epithet ταχύς; the *Gloss. Philox.* gives us ἀστραγαλίνος, *cardelus*; and, lastly, Belon (*Obs.* I. 11) gives it as one of the two Greek names for a Goldfinch in his day: 'Un Chardonneret, qui anciennement s'appelloit Pikilis, et en Latin Carduelis, est nommé Guardelli, ou bien Stragalino' (*cf.* Coray, *Ατ.* III.). We are all the better for a full confirmation by Constantine Manasses of the use and meaning of the word.

Dionysius includes in the same sentence σπίνος, καὶ τρυγόνες καὶ ἀστέρες, οἷς ἐρυθρός τε κύκλος ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἀστήρ, ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς; and this red ring or circlet on the head points to the so-called ἀστήρ as no other bird than the Goldfinch. But the passage is not satisfactory, and may even be textually corrupt. τρυγών, the Turtle-dove, looks out of place in a long list of small passerine birds; and these are all said to be caught with bird-lime: καὶ ἱξῷ μὲν αἰρούνται κτλ. This is true of the rest, but is unlikely to be true of the Turtle-dove, which is commonly caught in Southern Europe by a water-trap, like other pigeons. It seems to me just possible that ἀστήρ and τρυγών have both been made out of ἀστραγαλίνος; but whether or no, ἀστήρ is not confirmed elsewhere, and seems to me doubtful here. I look then on ἀστραγα-

λίνος as a well-authenticated Goldfinch name, and on ἀστήρ as a doubtful one. In Giglioli's long catalogue of Italian bird-names there is no such word as ἀστραγαλίνος; where did this word come from, and what has become of it? I believe, and Otto Keller has made the suggestion before me (*Ant. Thierwelt*, II., p. 87), that it is the German *Stieglitz*, a Slavonic word found in Bohemian, Illyrian, etc., which has spread throughout Germany and even into the Scandinavian languages (Danish *Stillids*, etc.). It was a mere loan-word, then, in Greek; and while there is nothing 'star-like' in the colour or pattern of the Goldfinch's head, Dionysius's allusion to ἀστήρ perhaps points to the sort of *Volksetymologie* which brought the ρ into ἀστραγαλίνος.

Belon's 'Pikilis' is the ποικιλίς of Arist. *H.A.* IX. 609, the spurious Ninth Book. This passage only tells that ποικιλίς is hostile to κορυδών, πιπώ, and χλωρεύς—a scrap of folklore which we do not understand and which does not help us; but the Scholiast to Theocr. VII. 171 helps us a little: ἀκανθίς δὲ ὄρνεον ἐστὶ ποικίλον καὶ λιγυρόν—καλεῖται δὲ ποικιλίς διὰ τὴν χροιάν (*cf.* Coray, *Ατ.* II. s.v. γαρδέλι). The German *Buntfink*, which means a Chaffinch, is a parallel to ποικιλίς; but the Chaffinch (σπίζα) cannot well be meant here. The Goldfinch, commonest of Greek finches, is also the most variegated or particoloured of common birds; and Belon was doubtless right in attributing to it this epithet and name. But ποικιλίς was no deep-rooted or vernacular appellation; it again has left no trace in the Italian dialects, nor so far as we know in Modern Greek.

The same is true of χρυσομίτρης, which I take to be a poetic or literary word rather than a vernacular one. It is only mentioned in Arist. *H.A.* VIII. 592b, together with ἀκανθίς and θραυπίς, but we cannot doubt that it meant a Goldfinch. Gaza translates the word by *Aurivittis*, and we may leave it an open question whether he understood it or not; I rather suspect he was thinking of a golden headdress, a snood or fillet, as Stephanus also did: 'Forsan ex carduelium genere χρυσομίτρης nominatur, quae est capite aurei

coloris, et ueluti aurea mitra redimita.' But Aldrovandi (*Ornithol.* III., p. 800) saw clearly that *μίτρα* meant a belt or sash (cf. *μυτροχίτων*, etc.), and that the Goldfinch was the bird with the golden patch upon his wings, which, when the wings are folded, makes a golden stripe or sash about his body.

We now come to *ἀκανθίς* and *ἀκανθυλλίς*, and to the cognate *ἀκαλανθίς*, *per metathesis facta*, as Aldrovandi says. The last of these three we have in *Ar. Av.* 871 (in *Pax* 1078 it seems to be a dog's name); also in a fragment of Nicander and in *Suidas*; in Latin as the true reading of all the MSS. (so Professor Lindsay assures me) in the third *Georgic* (V. 338); and in a similar verse by Paulinus of Nola (XXIII. 18), *nec nisi uere nouo resonant acalanthida dumi*. A form *acalanthis* occurs in the glossaries, and Hesychius records a Laconian variant *ἀκαλανσίρ*. As to *ἀκανθίς* and *ἀκανθυλλίς* we may ask several questions. Were they one and the same bird or not? Was that bird the Goldfinch? Were either or both of these names used, either specifically or more generally, of other and closely related birds?

The evidence at hand is as follows. In form at least *ἀκανθίς* appears to be the precise equivalent of Lat. *carduelis*; it is, according to Aristotle (*H.A.* VIII. 592b), *ὄρνις ἀκανθοφάγος ἐπὶ ἀκανθῶν νέμεται*, and from this Sundevall and Aubert and Wimmer have identified it with the Linnet. I see the Linnets everyday in winter-time among the whins, but the Greek surely means more than that: it means that the bird feeds on thistles, as the Goldfinch does and as its little cousins do. According to *Ps. Arist.* (*H.A.* IX. 17, 616b 30) it is *κακόβιος καὶ κακόχροος, φωνὴν μέντοι λιγυρὰν ἔχουσα*. What *κακόβιος* means, what fable or folklore may underlie it (if we can trust the reading at all), I do not know; but *κακόχροος* is plain enough, and it at once excludes the Goldfinch. The clear shrill note is referred to, not only by Aristotle, but also by Theocritus (VII. 141), and by Agathias in the *Anthology*, *λιγυρὸν βομβεῦσιν ἀκανθίδες*.

Of *ἀκανθυλλίς* we know little or nothing, save for the description of its

neat round nest in *H.A.* IX. 616a 5 (Plin. 10, 50, 1), which led Cuvier, Sundevall, Aubert, and Wimmer to identify it with one or other of those famous nest-builders, the Bearded or the Penduline Tit. But the Scholiast on Theocritus makes both *ἀκανθίς* and *ἀκανθυλλίς* synonymous with *ποικιλίς*, while the Philoxenus Glossary interprets both *ἀκανθυλλίς* and *ἀστραγαλίνος* by *cardelus*; in any case they must be birds closely associated with the Goldfinch, while the two Tits are birds of remarkable appearance, totally different from the finches in look and habits. We have a few minor references: Pliny (X. 83, 4) calls *acanthis* 'avis minima,' and says that it lays twelve eggs—a statement which, if we could safely trust to it, might lead us back to the Tits. Servius (*ad G.* III. 338) has a note in which one word is remarkable: 'Acalanthis, quam alii *lusciniā* esse uolunt, alii uero *carduelem*, quae spinis et carduis pascitur; et inde etiam apud Graecos *acalanthis* dicta sit ab *acanthis*—i.e. spinis, quibus pascitur.' Probus has 'Acalanthis est ea quae Graeci dicitur *ἀκανθίς*, dicta est Latine *carduelis* a *carduo*. Alii *lusciniā*.' Other scholia are to the same effect: while Aldrovandi (*Ornithol.* ii. p. 798) says 'Sic passim Virgilii interpretes fere omnes, et sexcenti lexicorum authores pro *Acanthide* *Carduelem* interpretantur sicuti par *Acalanthide*, etc.'

We may take it, then, that all these feed on thistles and the like, that they are all good songsters, that they are related to, if not identical, with the Goldfinch, that one (at least) is known to build a very neat nest, and that one (at least) is said to be plain-coloured.

We have three closely related birds, three plain-coloured greenish cousins of the Goldfinch, all common in South Europe, in Italy and in Greece. These are the Siskin (*Chrysomitris spinus*), It. *lucarino* or *lugarino*; the Citril Finch (*Carduelis citrinella*), It. *verdolino*, *venturone*, etc.; and the Serin Finch (*Serinus hortulanus*), It. *verdolino* or *verzellino*. Of these the Citril Finch is a bird of the mountains—Aldrovandi knew it well in North Italy—and it is so like the Serin as to be often and easily mistaken for it. The Siskin is a common winter

migrant in Greece; and the Serin is a common bird there, and resident.

While all of these are more or less common cage-birds in Italy, the Siskin, or *lucarino*, is the commonest and cheapest. Aldrovandi so speaks of it—'ipse magno capitur numero, flocci etiam fere ab omnibus penditur, et vili admodum a nostris aucupibus pretio venundatur.' It is also the plainest-coloured, *κακόχροος*. In spite of the latter epithet Salmasius (*Ex. Plin.* 316a) insists that *ἀκανθίς* was the Goldfinch; but Gesner, Belon, and Aldrovandi, all take it without doubt to be the Siskin. Belon asserts that the latter was called in his time *σπινίδιον*. It may have been the Gk. *σπίνος*, a name which I applied, hesitatingly and wrongly, to the Chaffinch in my glossary. If that be so, and Aldrovandi debates the point at length, we should have the abundance and cheapness of the *Siskin* referred to in Aristophanes, *συνείρων τοὺς σπίνους πωλεῖ καθ' ἑπτὰ τοῦβολοῦ*. Coray gives the Mod. Gk. *σκαθί* for the same bird, and explains its derivation from *ἀκανθίς* by comparing the change of *κάνθαρος* into *ἀσκάθαρος*.

These names may have been used somewhat vaguely or loosely in literature, but more particularly by the bird-catchers or bird-fanciers. It is likely enough that these men distinguished between *ἀκανθίς* and *ἀκανθυλλίς*, and the identification of *ἀκανθίς* with the Siskin would then leave *ἀκανθυλλίς* free for the Serin or the rarer Citril Finch. Now it is curious that *ἀκανθυλλίς* is the only one whose nest is described, and that the Siskin does not breed in Greece nor yet in Italy, while the Serin Finch does; the latter also is, by a little, the smaller bird. We may have some reason, then, to suppose that *ἀκανθυλλίς* meant, specifically, the Serin. Lastly, while Belon and Aldrovandi assign no Greek name to the Serin, for they neither of them distinguish between *ἀκανθίς* and *ἀκανθυλλίς*, Aldrovandi follows Belon in assigning the Gk. *θραυπίς* to the last of our three allied species, the Citril Finch. This, however, is no more than a conjecture.

Let us look again, and closer, at the modern names and their relation to the

ancient words. Thanks to Giglioli, we know the Italian vernacular bird-names better than those of any other country, our own included; but of modern Greek bird-names we know but little more than Belon told us more than three hundred years ago. There are one or two things to bear in mind. We run a risk, now and then, of taking a word to be vernacular when it is really artificial; for the old ornithologists and translators coined many a word which passed current afterwards. The Italian for a Siskin, as we have said, is *lucarino* or *lugarino*; but in the older books, such as Aldrovandi's, we find *ligorinus*, which Belon supposes to have been coined by Gaza, *διὰ τὸ λιγυρὸν τῆς φωνῆς*. We must also remember not only that similar birds may pass under one and the same name in popular speech, but also that the same name may be used of very different birds in different places, just as to-day a heron in England is a 'crane' in Ireland.

The Goldfinch has three different names in Italy, in a host of dialectic forms. The chief is Cardellino, on which such changes are rung as Cardello, Cardillo, Cardenna, Cardlin, Gardlin, Ghiardelin, Ciardolinna, etc. This name has passed, like so many other Italian words, into Modern Greek, in such forms as *γαρδέλι*, *καρδέλι*, *γαρδελίνα*, *καρδελίνα*, *καρδερίνα* (Coray). We see that in all of these, both Italian and Greek, the *u* of the Latin *carduelis* has dropped out; but a form without the *u* is doubtless old. We have it in Petronius (fr. 46), *tres cardeles occidi*, and also in the Glossaries.

The second name is Scanzlin, Sganzzlin, Scalzarin, found chiefly in Northern Italy, in Parma, Modena, etc. It is not recorded from Naples or Sicily, where we should most expect to find a surviving Greek word; but nevertheless, I have little doubt that it is connected with *ἀκανθίς*, *ἀκανθυλλίς*, and *acalanthis*. In fact, when Vergil wrote *acalanthisida dumi*, he may have got the word not far from home.

Somewhat similar names are given, also in North Italy, to the Serin—Sgarzolin, Sgarzerin, etc., and also to the Citril Finch, Sgarzolin verd; but

only a special student of Italian dialects could tell us whether these be the same word as Scanzlin or no.

The third name is Ravarin, Ravaren, Lavarin, Lavaren, etc. This is a curious word. It is shared with the Serin, to which indeed it more properly belongs, for *Raperino* and *Verzellino* are names one as common as the other for that bird in Florence; and the Serin has it in various forms, from Raparen at Modena to Rappareddu in Sicily. The etymology appears to be unknown, so at least it is said in Hoare's Dictionary. But there is a word *Rapa* or *Rappa* in Du Cange, which means a hedge or thicket — 'sepes, sepimentum, vel locus sentibus et dumosis obsitus.' If *Raperino* be derived from this, as seems likely enough, it is closely parallel to *Lucarino*, the Siskin; and both alike would simply mean a bird to whose singing 'resonant . . . dumi.' And here I make bold to suggest that we may be on the very track of the unknown origin of *θραυπῖς* (*v.l.* *θραπῖς*). The only word which resembles it in Greek is *θραύπαλος*, a shrub in Theophrastus; they may have the same root in common, and that root may be in *ραπα* also. *Raperino* and *θραυπῖς* may be cognate words, and if that be so Belon may be wrong after all in ascribing, or at least in limiting,

the name *θραυπῖς* to the Citril Finch. The Citril and the Serin have various names in common. Their proper names are *Venturone* and *Verzellino*; but both go under such names as Verdolino, Sverzerin or Sverzeli, and Serin itself. So *θραυπῖς* may well have served for both, for only a practised eye can tell one bird from the other.

Such evidence as we have, then, leads us to believe that the several names (while subject doubtless to occasional error and confusion) were properly applied as follows: *ἀστραγαλῖνος, ποικιλῖς* and *χρυσομήτρης* to the Goldfinch; *ἀκανθῖς* and *σπῖνος* to the Siskin; *ἀκανθυλλῖς* and *θραυπῖς* (separately or together) to the Serin and the Citril Finch.

I know no reason, save the empty one that both are singing birds, why anyone should suppose that *ἀκανθῖς* or *ἀκαλανθῖς* meant the Nightingale, a bird whose one and only name admits of no ambiguity whatsoever. Had the Vergilian scholiasts said not '*alii lusciniæ*,' but '*alii lucarinum esse volunt, alii carduelem*,' i.e. 'some say the Siskin and some the Goldfinch,' the statement would have been all that an ornithologist could desire. Professor Lindsay, alas, declares that this reading is palaeographically impossible.

D'ARCY W. THOMPSON.

#### RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM, c. 30.

τὰς μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνθρώπον διαβολὰς ἐν ταῖς δημηγορίαις ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιχειρήσομεν λύειν· αἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα γίνονται μὲν, ὅταν τις ἡσυχίαν πρὸς τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας συμβουλευῇ, ἢ εἰρήνην ποιέσθαι αἰσχροῖν, ἢ παραινῇ περὶ τὰς θυσίας μικρὰ συντελεῖν, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον εἰσηγήται (*Rhet. ad Al.*, c. 30, 1437b, 16-21).

THIS is Bekker's text in the Berlin Aristotle. It is retained by Hammer (in the Teubner *Rhetores Graeci*, I. 2), except for two slight changes, *λύειν ἐπιχειρήσομεν* (word-order) and *ἢ τοὺς κρείττονας* (πρὸς omitted), which have some manuscript authority. The real difficulty lies, as many eminent scholars have felt, in *ἡσυχίαν* and the words with which it is constructed. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire translates *ὅταν τις ἡσυχίαν συμβουλευῇ* by 'quand l'orateur

conseille la guerre,' and with Gallic bravery subjoins, 'Le texte dit précisément le contraire, et il n'y a pas de variante qui permette de le modifier; mais la raison exige absolument le changement que j'ai fait.' Magnificent; but hardly war—the war of scientific criticism. With Teutonic intrepidity Usener would read *πολεμεῖν* for *ἡσυχίαν*, and Kayser *ἡττονας* for *κρείττονας*, while Spengel would strike out *μηδὲν* before *ἀδικούντας*. An eirenicon seems possible which may unite in a fresh solution scholars of different lands, who here see the central truth, but not the way to reach it. Insert *λύειν* after *συμβουλεύη*. The knot is loosed; peace-and-quiet (*ἡσυχία*) is no longer a state-of-war (*πολεμεῖν*). The general sense will be:

'Personal prejudices against parliamentary speakers we shall endeavour to annul by the methods indicated. Prejudice against the subject-matter of speeches arises when we are advised to annul friendly relations with an unoffending or a stronger power or to make a shameful peace, or are urged to cut down our religious offerings, or have some similar proposal brought before us.' With τοὺς κρείττους we should compare Aristotle, *Rhet.* I, c. 4, 1359b, 38: [ἡ] καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπίδοξον πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πρὸς μὲν τοὺς κρείττους εἰρηνεύηται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἡττοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἢ τὸ πολεμεῖν: and 1360a, 17 *ib.* The phrase ἡσυχίαν λύειν has the same sense as εἰρήνην λύειν. In this connexion λύειν is the opposite of ἄγειν.

λύειν, which will duly balance the infinitive ποιεῖσθαι, may easily have dropped out after -λεύη. It is also to be noticed that an important group among the late manuscripts on which our text depends gives συμβουλεύειν. This may well be a conflation of συμβουλεύη and λύειν. Does the occurrence, a couple of lines earlier, of λύειν

(which, after all, is a more ordinary word than 'annul' and nearer to 'break up') make against its proposed insertion after συμβουλεύη? Not so, I think, in this author, though a fastidious transcriber may have been led to eject it on this score. To the ear any harshness involved in its speedy recurrence is softened if in the former clause it comes before, not after, the main verb. Moreover, the reiteration of words is a marked characteristic of the *Rhet. ad Al.* The salient instance is the adverb συλλήβδην ('comprehensively'). This word occurs as many as twenty times in the treatise, and often close together. Such excessive partiality for συλλήβδην is, indeed, one of the many reasons for thinking that the author of the *Rhet. ad Al.* cannot have been Aristotle as we know him elsewhere. Unless he had a 'sylleptic' fit on this solitary occasion, can Aristotle have used συλλήβδην a score of times in this one brief treatise, and never in all his undisputed works except once in a quotation from Theognis?

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

### SOME EMENDATIONS IN ISAEUS.

THE articles on Isaeus contributed by Dr. P. S. Photiades to *Athena* in 1922 and 1923, and noticed by Mr. Adcock in *C.R.* XXXVII, p. 140, contain about a score of corrections of the first four speeches. Most of them appear to me unnecessary; and some are trivialities; thus in I. 11. 6 he changes ταῦτα διέθετο to ταύτας διέθετο, and in I. 26. 7 διαθέμενον ταῦτα to διαθέμενον ταύτας. I perceive nothing offensive in ταῦτα in the first passage, and in the second consider ταῦτα better than ταύτας. The codex Crippsianus is a poor MS., which deserves no reverence, but on the other hand Isaeus was not a literary artist but a man of business, and it is not difficult for a good scholar such as Dr. Photiades to comb and brush his untidiness. One palmary emendation will keep green the name of Photiades. In IV. 24 A has μὰ Δι' ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἄγων οὐδ' ὁ ἀγνόητος τοῦ Νικοστράτου συγγενεῖς, ὥς οἱ ἀντίδικοί φασι,

ἄλλ' ἕτεροι. Schoemann proposed ἄλλ' αὐτοί, Hitzig ἄλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐγγυτέρω. I accepted the correction συγγενῆς from the Florentine scribe who wrote M at the end of the fifteenth century, and did my best with ἄλλ' ἕτεροι. By reading ἄλλ' ἀλλότριον Dr. Photiades has healed an ancient wound. Other corrections worthy of a place in the text are these: III. 47. 4 οὐδεμιᾷ, *ib.* 50. 7 <ἡ> κληρονομία, VIII. 27. 2 σήματος, which is nearer to βήματος than Schoemann's μνήματος. For the *locus desperatus* III. 61 he has a simple solution, to read ἵνα οὖν μὴ παρὰ τοῦ ἐντυχόντος τῶν κλήρων αἱ λήξεις <ἄλλα> τοῖς ἀμφισβητεῖν βουλομένοις γίνωνται, but owing perhaps to my imperfect knowledge of modern Greek I cannot understand his interpretation of the passage so corrected. I find the same obscurity in his treatment of another famous crux, III. 24. 4, where he reads καὶ πῶς; ὥστε <οὐ> with an interrogation at the end of the sentence.

Since *Athena* is a periodical not easily accessible, I submit for the consideration of British scholars the following emendations, though for my part I should receive none into the text, and not all into the critical apparatus: I. 51. 4 τὸ <ἵσον> μέρος αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν, II. 22. 3 ὁμολογῆσαι ὑμῖν, III. 22. 8 εὐθὺ τριακοσίους, ib. 23. 7 ὅλως οὐδεῖς,

ib. 45. 5 <πῶς> ἐπέτρεψας, ib. 57. 1 κάκεῖνοί γε δῆλοι, ib. 70. 3 <πῶς> ἐπετρέπετε, IV. 1. 5 ὥς <καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε>, ib. 7. 1 πολλοὶ τινες, ib. 7. 6 <οὐ> κατὰ δόσιν, ib. 18. 7 νῦν δὲ <οὔτοσι> οὔτε σύσσιτος οὔτε φίλος οὔτ' ἐν τάξει τῇ αὐτῇ, XII. 6. 7. ψευδομαρτυρίου.

W. WYSE.

### ATAKTA.

EUR. *H.F.* 554 ff.

HP τί δ' ἐξελέπετ' οἶκον ἐστῖαν τ' ἐμήν;  
ME βία, πατήρ μὲν ἐκπεσὼν στρωτοῦ λέχους.  
HP κοῦκ ἔσχεν αἰδῶ τὸν γέροντ' ἀτιμάσαι;  
ME αἰδῶς γ' ἀποικεῖ τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ πρόσω.

So the passage appears in Murray's text except that he puts three points after λέχους, as if Heracles interrupted. That may be right, but I am not satisfied that the assumption is necessary; for μέν *solitarium* is often used where the speaker deliberately leaves the contrasting clause to be mentally supplied. The treatment of the old man was an additional outrage. For μέν so employed cf. Soph. *Phil.* 159, *Trach.* 69.

There is no MS. variant except that P has αἰδῶς δ' in 557. Most of the earlier editors understood that 'the goddess' was Βία, which does not fit with the immediate context and is otherwise unacceptable. Consequently Scaliger's αἰδῶ γ'; (with Lycus as subj. to ἀποικεῖ) has met with some approval, although Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz prefer to substitute a colon, and Wecklein a dash, for the note of interrogation. This small variety is, I think, a sign of uneasiness: each editor desires the meaning which Wilamowitz expresses by 'Lykos und scham! die göttin kennt er nicht,' but hesitates how to punctuate. Badham gave αἰδῶς; notwithstanding that αἰδῶ precedes, and certain tamperings with θεοῦ mentioned in Wecklein's appendix testify to the general dissatisfaction. Murray stands alone in returning to the old interpretation, but with a difference: 'Αἰδῶς has her temple far from the δαίμων that possesses us, δυστυχία or Μοῖρα θανάτου.' But I think most readers will feel that θεοῦ ought to refer to Αἰδῶς, if the text will permit.

Now, so far as I have been able to investigate the question, whenever a word is taken up in stichomythia from one of the interlocutors by the other to express surprise or indignation, it appears in the same case or tense etc. in which it is first employed, and there is no evidence for the addition of γε. Examples will be found in *Ai.* 1127, *Trach.* 429, *Ion* 952. If this generalisation is correct, it puts out of court most of the current views, but a slight alteration will make the matter straight. I believe that we should read αἰδῶς in 556 and αἰδῶς in 557. In that case ἔσχεν means *restrained* as in *Or.* 263 σχήσω σε πηδᾶν δυστυχῇ πηδήματι α and elsewhere.

EUR. *H.F.* 256 f.

δοῖς οὐ Καδμείος ὦν  
ἄρχει, κάκιστος, τῶν νέων, ἔπηλυσ ὦν.

So the MSS., but it is generally felt that νέων is impossible. Wecklein records a plentiful crop of conjectures, the best of which is Dobree's ἐμῶν adopted by Wilamowitz. It would be just as easy and perhaps more natural as coming from the Chorus to read λεῶν (for the accent see Chandler § 548). Cf. Soph. *Ai.* 1100 ποῦ δέ σοι λεῶν ἔξεστ' ἀκούειν ὦν ὅδ' ἡγεῖτ' οἴκοθεν.

EUR. *Cycl.* 475.

(Κύκλωπος) ὀφθαλμὸν ὥσπερ σφηκιᾶν ἐκθρύψομεν.

So LP: ἐκθρύψομεν l Paley: ἐκθύψομεν Hertlein (followed by Dindorf, Wecklein, and Murray). Scaliger restored ἐκθλίψομεν, which Paley calls a less appropriate word and Wecklein numbers with the 'conjecturas minus probabiles.' I think it can be shown that Scaliger was right. The vox propria for gathering honey from the comb was βλίπτειν (i.e. μ(ε)λιττειν) with



its aor. βλίσαι. Now the schol. on Ar. *Eq.* 794 has: βλίστειν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ μέλι ἀπὸ τῶν κηρίων καὶ πειράζειν καὶ τὸ ψηλαφᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐκπιέζειν, τὰ κηρία τῶν μελισσῶν θλίβειν. The note has passed to Suid. s.v. who also has βλιμάζειν τὸ ταῖς χερσὶ διαθλίβειν καὶ τὸ τὰ κηρία θλίψαι βλίσσαι λέγεται. Both notes appear also in Etym. M. 200, 33 ff. Next it is to be observed that βλίστειν, i.e. θλίβειν, was also applied to a wasps' nest, as is shown by the proverbial σφηκιὰν βλίστειν 'to raise a hornets' nest about one's ears' (Ar. *Lys.* 475, Soph. *fr.* 778). After this the appropriateness of ἐκθλίβομεν is hardly to be denied. It is a curious coincidence that the eyes of the blinded sons of Phineus seem to have been compared by Sophocles to a honeycomb (κηρίωμα Soph. *fr.* 715).

SOPH. *O.T.* 807 ff.

καὶ μ' ὁ πρέσβυς ὡς ὄρᾳ  
ῥχον παραστειχόντα τηρήσας μέσον  
κάρα διπλοῖς κέντροισι μου καθίκετο.

καθικνεῖσθαι 'to strike' is regularly followed by the genitive, and καθίκετο κάρα has not been justified. Jebb, recognising this, treats κάρα as acc. of the part affected, which is an impossible construction without an accusative preceding. The inference is surely that κάρα is governed by τηρήσας, which takes an acc. with the sense of 'watching for' 'looking out for' in Thucydides (i. 65; iv. 26, 27; v. 82). παραστει-

χόντα is then to be referred to ὄρᾳ. I have very little doubt that ὄρχους should be read with Doederlein, the rhythm following *Ant.* 1255. The extremely awkward genitive (ὄρχου) thus disappears, but if this is not done it would be possible to take ὄρχου with ὄρᾳ, otherwise construing as above.

Rhes. 640.

καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον· ὃν δὲ χρῆ παθεῖν  
οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδ' ἤκουσεν ἑργὸς ὦν λόγου.

Athena gives final directions to Diomede for the slaying of Rhesus: 'be quick with your work. Meantime I will personate Cypris and keep Paris engaged.' The lines quoted follow, but are strangely misinterpreted. Paley makes Paris subject to οἶδε and Rhesus subject to παθεῖν: i.e. ὦν = τίνα, for which of course there are plenty of examples. On the other hand, Professor Murray and Mr. Porter make Paris the subject to both verbs: 'on whom my spell is set he knows not . . . 'he with whom I must deal. . . .' (my italics). Does it not occur to them that they are working παθεῖν too hard, and that the subsidiary (deception of Paris) is substituted for the essential (destruction of Rhesus)? It seems to me as clear as daylight that Rhesus is the subject to both verbs. It is true that Heath says that Rhesus was far away: but Heath had not read or had forgotten v. 613.

A. C. PEARSON.

#### 'IT BELLO TESSERA SIGNUM.'

THE late Dr. Henry Bradley made, a few years ago, a contribution of great interest to the interpretation of Virgil. It has been very briefly indicated in Professor Lindsay's edition of the Corpus Glossary (on T 111), but readers of Virgil are more numerous than students of Latin glossaries: hence this note.

On *Aeneid* 7, 637 Servius explains 'tessera' as a 'symbolum bellicum quod ad pugnam exeuntibus datur, scilicet propter confusionem'—a pass-word or countersign by which one may distinguish friend from foe in the press of battle: he quotes examples from the armies of Sulla ('Apollo Delphicus') and Caesar ('Venus Genetrix'). This was a regular use of the term in the Roman army, surviving after the practice of writing the pass-word on a small tablet was replaced by word of mouth; and the officer whose duty it was to get the sign from the

commander and have it passed round was called 'tesserarius.' Many such pass-words are known, and this is the accepted interpretation here. But it is wholly inappropriate to the context, for at this point we are not nearly ready to go into battle. The Gates of War have been opened (601 ff.); hot preparation is afoot, arms are being sought out and furbished up (623 ff.). But as yet there is no organised army: it is only after line 637 that the 'gathering of the clans' begins. Clearly it is not time to issue the pass-word. That, however, is not the only thing that 'tessera' may represent in a military context. It is often an order that is passed round; e.g. in Livy 9, 32, 4 'extemplo tesseram dari iubet ut prandeat miles firmatisque cibo viribus arma capiat,' and many other passages: and this may suggest to us an order sent round the districts calling them to arms. The Abolita Glossary furnishes a striking confirmation in an item which has been preserved

more fully in derivative glossaries—'Tesserarius: praepositus currorum qui bella nuntia <n>t (*al. nutriunt*).'<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bradley made the correction of 'currorum' to 'cursorum' and pointed out the pertinence of the gloss to Virgil's line. If 'tesserarius' can mean the officer commanding the runners who proclaim a state of war, 'tessera' can be the token which conveys their message: and that is exactly what we want here—a real 'bello signum,' something partly analogous to the fiery cross, so that the sentence has its natural place in the narrative. The gloss, belonging to Abolita, probably comes from Festus (see *Ancient Lore in Latin Glossaries*, p. 26); and if so, its authority goes back to the time of Augustus and it attests an ancient usage known to Verrius Flaccus from some old writer, but naturally long obsolete in Italy—such a piece of antiquity as Virgil would love.

H. J. THOMSON.

### ORTHAGORISCUS

ἔρθα καὶ πλείστον κατέχευσε τῶν Σικυνίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ οὕτως τε καὶ δυν «καὶ χοίρου» τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατίθεισ αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἐωντοῦ φύλης· ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ οὐνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωντοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔθετο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκαλέοντο, ἕτεροι δὲ Ὑτάται, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀνεῆται, ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεῆται (Herodotus V. 68).

THE alternative suggestions that this story has its origin in the local association of the Dorian tribes with hypothetical place-names in Sikyon, in the crests of wards, or in vestiges of totemism (see Macan, *ad loc.*), appear to me each more improbable than its predecessor. Again, while it may be true that among the Gros Ventre Indians tribal divisions exist which are known by such ridiculous nicknames as Dusty Ones, Coffee, Weasel-skin, Head-dress, Poor Ones, Berry Eaters, or Torn Trousers,<sup>1</sup> there is here no real analogy. The Herodotean story narrates the deliberate application of offensive names to the well-known three Dorian tribes at a time of anti-Dorian reaction. For sixty years—*i.e.* for as long as the non-Dorians remained in power—the mud stuck. We must surely agree with How and Wells that these were not official appellatives, but nicknames, and that Bury's explanation of their origin in a jest of the tyrant must be upon the right lines.

But the cardinal difficulty of Bury's account of the matter (*History of Greece*, p. 155) is the intolerable strain which it places upon even the most popular etymology. Could a jesting tyrant or his opponents really get *Goat Men* out of *Aigaleoi*?

Here is an alternative suggestion. The Sicyonian royal family were παῖδες Ὀρθαγόρου. Ὀρθαγόρσκος, a diminutive (compare κυνίσκος = puppy), was the Dorian word for a sucking-pig, such as was offered to Artemis Korythalia at Sparta.<sup>2</sup> May not the Dorian insult, to which Cleisthenes reacted, have been a pun, not upon

the name of his tribe, but upon that of the founder of his line? He retorted with a *tu quoque*; two of his three names are porcine. Hyatai, as Bury remarks, is no doubt directly suggested by Hylleis. The form Oneatai may perhaps be influenced by the Orneatai, the *perioikoi* of hated Argos.<sup>3</sup> For the third name Cleisthenes fell back once more upon the pig idea.

This appears to me perhaps the kind of thing which might have happened; no explanation is likely to get nearer to the truth of the matter than that.

This suggestion, so far as I have been able to discover, has not been made before. Abbott (*History of Greece*, I., p. 370) has noticed the existence of the word ὀρθαγόρσκος, but has applied it to a different problem—*viz.* that of the relationship of Andreas and Orthagoras. Andreas, he suggests, was the real name of the founder of the tyranny, Orthagoras his nickname. In support of this view we may compare Zeuxidemus, alias Kuniskos.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, I do not think that Abbott's suggestion is convincing. If we accept at its face value the testimony of Ephorus (?) in the papyrus fragment,<sup>5</sup> Andreas and Orthagoras cannot be alternative names for one person. But I confess that I am a little doubtful whether the old crux has been definitely solved by this new piece of evidence of not very certain value. The chronological perplexities, which the admission of an extra member of the dynasty involves, are most fairly set out by Grenfell and Hunt. To me the new difficulties do not seem easier than the old ones. But however that may be, the view that Orthagoras was only a nickname is for other reasons improbable. It is after all a Greek proper name of perfectly normal construction, and, although it may not be one of the very commonest names, it will be found to occur with some frequency in inscriptions from Boeotia, the home of the celebrated flute-player Orthagoras (Plato, *Protag.* 318c), the Peloponnese, and the Dorian islands.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

### DION CHRYSOSTOM, OR. XII. 44.

Λέγω δὲ γραφῶν τε καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιῶν καὶ λιθοξῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀπλῶς τοῦ καταξιώσαντος αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι μιμητὴν διὰ τέχνης τῆς δαιμονίας φύσεως, εἴτε σκιαγραφία μάλᾳ ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀπατηλῇ πρὸς θῦν, χρωμάτων μίξει καὶ γραμμῆς ὁρῶν σχεδὸν τὸ ἀκριβεστάτον περιλαμβανούσῃ, εἴτε λίθων γλυφαῖς, κ.τ.λ.

εἴτε σκιαγρ. μάλᾳ ἀσθ. καὶ γραμμῆς ὁρῶν σχ. τὸ ἀκρ. περιλαμβ. εἴτε ἀπατηλῇ πρὸς θῦν χρ. μίξει,

<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of Kynouria ἐκδεδωρπενται ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος ἐόντες Ὀρνεῖται [καὶ οἱ περίοικοι], Herodotus VIII. 73. For a similar use of what was originally an ethnic as a label to indicate political status Stein, *ad loc.*, aptly quotes the Caerites. Greenidge, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, p. 84, favours the analogous explanation of the word Helot.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ οἱ γίνεταί παῖς Ζευτὶ ἡμος, τὸν δὲ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεον, Herodotus VI. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Oxyrhynchus Papyri XI No. 1365.

<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, I., pp. 147-148.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychius, *s.v.*; Polemon in Athenaeus IV. 139b.

Kayser. περιλαμβανούσης, libri, περιλαμβανούση, Reiske. (J. von Arnim's apparatus).

THIS passage enumerates five ways of representing the divine form, and apparently proceeds from vague and indeterminate to more concrete techniques. There is a clear distinction between the two methods of painting on a plane surface. Σκιαγραφία is scene painting, which produced its deceptive effects at long range by a judicious manipulation of light and shade without gradations of tone;<sup>1</sup> the second method involves definite outlines (compare Parrhasios: *in lineis extremis palmam adeptus*), and a mixture of colours. This distinction disposes of Kayser's extensive remodelling. But an *εἶς* is needed before *χρωμάτων*. How was it lost? There are two clues. The manuscript reading is *περιλαμβανούσης*, which hangs

in the air as the text now stands. But it may point to a parallel participle at the end of the first clause, both agreeing with *τέχνης*. Further, we may conjecture what that participle was from a passage in Plato which probably influenced Dion's phraseology, since both places deal with the delineation of the divine nature: *σκιαγραφία δὲ ἀσαφὲς καὶ ἀπατηλὴ χρώμεθα περὶ αὐτὰ* (*Kritias*, 107d).<sup>2</sup> I suggest that *χρωμένης* fell out before *χρωμάτων* by similarity of the first four letters, carrying with it the missing *εἶς*, and that the form *περιλαμβανούσης* is a definite indication of this omission. Read: . . . ἀπατηλὴ πρὸς θεῶν <χρωμένης, εἶς> χρωμάτων . . . περιλαμβανούσης.

A. S. FERGUSON.

<sup>1</sup> See R. Schöne, *Jahrbuch des k. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Bd. 27, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ἀκριβές in c 6. Dion, however, uses σκιαγραφία and ἀκριβέστατον in a different sense, because he contrasts techniques with an increasing degree of determinateness.

## REVIEWS

### THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY.

*The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. I.: Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B.C. Pp. xxii + 704; 13 maps. Cambridge: The University Press, 1923. 35s.

THERE is a story that on an occasion towards the end of the war there was a sudden and unexplained shortage of silver coins at Athens. Most people thought that, if it was not an accident, somebody was trying by making a corner to embarrass the Government. Not so Professor Myres, who was in Athens at the time. He thought (so it is said) that the shortage of silver was a blind, which was to cover a real attempt by Royalists to make a corner in the nickel coins, which were then to be sent to Germany. An ingenious theory, the weak spot of which was that one of the results of the silver shortage (which was over in a fortnight) was a great increase in the quantity of nickel currency. One's pockets bulged with nickel coins, when before they had decently housed a silver didrachm or two. So with much that Professor Myres writes. Suspicion is aroused by this weakness of his for ingenious speculations. They seem to imply that the rest of mankind are like himself. But they are not. Not even other writers on ancient history are like him. One must not, I suppose, be sorry for

this. Yet one leaves his two chapters on geological and neolithic man with regret. For he has a command of his material, an imaginative grasp, and, above all, a sense of style beyond that of his colleagues. Take this from his opening paragraphs:

But the spoken word does not fall to the ground like the spent missile or the broken vessel, to be its own memorial of human achievement; it vanishes in air, so that the philologist deals not with originals, but at best with the reminiscences of an echo. To recover, therefore, what men were doing or making, still more what they were thinking or desiring, before the dawn of history, the sole available method is that of the archaeologist, merging as it does in that of the geologist, since these alone handle and interpret original creations of men's thought and will, and contemporary elements of the physical surroundings of those men. Where the tree falls there shall it lie; and where the lost implement or shattered potsherd or worn-out man fell, there have they lain, for all that anyone cared then or knows now. It is the carelessness (in the literal sense) of the river as to the gravel which it carried, and an equal carelessness of those men as to what happened to their leavings, that justify such a hypothesis of the credibility of these data, and make prehistoric times at least a penumbra of history.

Admirable alike as a piece of English and as a description of the evidence for prehistoric times.

The imaginative method may not be for all periods of history; it is difficult

certainly to think of it applied to the Kings of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon, with whom Mr. Campbell Thompson has to struggle. It requires a large canvas uncrowded by multifarious detail; if it observes the unities of time and space, it has the world for its stage, and its time is geological. But Professor Myres rightly uses it for prehistoric man, and in the right way. There is perhaps hardly one theory he puts forward of which one would say, 'this must be so,' or even 'this is probably so.' Some are wholly fantastic; and only a geologist could test much of what he writes. But the method is sound. Nor must it be thought that he lets his imagination run free. On the contrary, he is in general cautious, especially as to 'races' of men, about which many duller men have had wilder theories than he, and in his treatment of early religions. Only rarely, as in the case of the origin of the Mongols in Central Asia (pp. 22-3), does he argue the presence of man from the absence of remains—because nomads do not leave remains; though, like everyone else, he frequently bases the widest conclusions on single and isolated finds, such as the negroid skeletons of the Grimaldi caves, and others, even more doubtfully, on the presence of certain physical types in present-day populations. Biologists, after all, are not yet, or perhaps I should say are no longer, dogmatic about variations in human types. There remain two more important criticisms to make. The actual achievements of palaeolithic men in Western Europe—that is to say, their art—deserve a greater emphasis and a more particular description. They are something more than historical evidence. Secondly, a clearer statement of the actual evidence for earliest man—Neanderthal, Pilt-down, Mousterian, and the like—is badly needed. Professor Macalister, in his excellent chapter on 'Exploration and Excavation,' does not give it; and Professor Myres' style has an allusive quality which in itself is admirable, as Meredith taught, but in this case requires almost an expert's knowledge of the evidence to make it properly intelligible.

It is interesting and not uncharac-

teristic that Professor Myres becomes, or seems to become, less trustworthy as the evidence gets more plentiful, as it becomes at the same time more complex and more pliable. Pass from his brilliant and shifting sands to Professor Peet and you are in a different world. Professor Peet is solid as a rock. When he says a thing is so, it must be; when he says 'it is probable,' you feel that all the evidence has been weighed, and you will be quite safe in registering his opinion in your mind, especially when he says: 'For the present almost every new object of importance dating from these early times in Egypt merely serves to convince us, if we are wise, of the extent of our ignorance.' There is only one point which I at least am inclined still to doubt, on general grounds—his statement that the ethical standard of Egypt was almost purely selfish:

As we might say in our modern phrase virtue 'paid' on the whole. It gained the approval of a man's fellow-creatures because they were benefited by it. 'I did that which all men approved' was perhaps the highest piece of self-commendation which a noble could inscribe upon his tomb.

After all, not many nobles of other nations could, or would, say as much; and the Egyptians are not the only people who have said of honesty that it is the best policy. Similarly, when Mr. Cook says of the Semites, 'There is admiration for any manifestation of personal power and ability as distinct from its ethical value or its consequences,' that does not distinguish them, for it is true also of other countries—Italy, for example.

Mr. Wace has not been allowed enough space for his account of the earliest Aegean civilisation. This is almost the only criticism one can make of the general arrangement and editorship of the volume. In part this is no doubt inevitable. Where there are no written records, or those records are indecipherable, there are few details with which to fill in the picture. Still, this was the first European civilisation; and even though this volume only describes its beginnings, and does not reach the great age even of Crete, it does not get enough emphasis. In the space at his disposal, however, Mr.

Wace gives a very clear account of the beginnings of Greece, though I see no reason for the view that the pictographic writing of the Middle Minoan period, 'together with the use of complicated signets, seems to imply an officialdom of an oriental type.' All that we have of Minoan Crete is as European as fifth-century Athens. In my opinion, too, Mr. Wace plays too often with suppositions of changes of race wherever we observe a change in pottery, or methods of burial, or the like. Apart from the dubiousness of all such theories (for peoples change their customs under influence from abroad), it is culture, and not problems of ethnology, which are important, especially when the language is unknown. Professor Macalister, by the way, omits to mention Mr. Wace's most important excavations at Mycenae in 1920-22, as indeed he passes over most of the scientific work done since Schliemann—at Mycenae by Tsountas, at Tiryns and Orchomenos by the Germans, and in Corinthia by Blegen—work which has changed the aspect of things since Schliemann's day.

A monumental work of this importance naturally suggests many criticisms, though mostly in matters of detail, as this review must already have made only too clear. But there are some others which may be made by a general reader, for it is he, the editors tell us in the preface, who 'is constantly kept in view throughout; and our aim is to steer a middle course between the opposite dangers, a work which only the expert could read or understand, and one so "popular" that serious students would rightly regard it with indifference.' The latter danger has been most successfully avoided. Doubtless Professor Langdon and Mr. Thompson had a more difficult task with Sumer and Babylonia than Mr. Hall with Egypt, for the story is a more complicated one. But they both obscure the story with a mass of detail which the reader cannot possibly carry—vast numbers of kings and patesis with impossible names. The chapter on Hammurabi is clear, but much of the rest is not. What is the use, for instance, of cluttering up the book with detail like this (which is not unique by

any means): 'Isin and Babylon . . . and the small city of Rapiġum allied themselves against Larsa and Ur under Rim-sin. This Rapiġum can hardly be the Rapiġum mentioned by Tukulti-Ninurta, three days' march north of Sippar; and in all probability there was another of the name.' What has the general reader to do with one or a dozen Rapiġums? seeing that not Tukulti-Ninurta nor either Rapiġum is mentioned elsewhere in the book, and neither finds a place on the map. The very conscientious maker of the index seems to agree, for both Tukulti—etc., and Rapiġum are there omitted. On the other hand, he does record the mention by Professor Langdon of Igigi, Imi, Nani (also to be distinguished from another Nani), Elulu (or Ilulu), and Dudu, ephemeral kings of Agade—names and nothing more. It is all the more unnecessary, for there is an excellent and full list of kings and patesis of Sumer and Akkad at the end of the volume. Fortunately Mr. Hall did not think it necessary to mention all the kings of the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties of Egypt, Sekhem-resesheditauī Sebekemsaf II. and the rest. On the other hand, many difficult questions, such as that of the chronology of Egypt, receive just the right amount of discussion.

There is one important and obscure point which receives no explanation—the relation of Gudea of Lagash to the dynasty of Gutium. Gudea, one of the greatest of Sumerian figures, had a long, prosperous, and apparently peaceful rule, noted chiefly for its religious and artistic activities. The extent of his rule appears to be uncertain; but he was able to get material—cedar, gypsum, marble, gold, silver, copper—from Syria, from the Taurus, from the Zagros; and he conquered Anshan in Elam. He 'certainly lived under the kingdom of Gutium,' though 'the business archives of his reign make no reference at all to the tribute paid to the kings of this foreign dynasty' (p. 433). Yet this was a 'period of anarchy and terrible oppression of the barbarians from Gutium' (p. 434); so that no city from Sippar to Eridu has any history, 'with the remarkable exception of Lagash, which does not appear to have suffered such

total extinction of culture under the kings of Gutium' (p. 437). A phenomenon so curious ought not to have been left unexplained.

The general get-up of this volume, the paper and print, are all admirable. (I have noticed only two misprints which might confuse: 'Khian of the thirteenth dynasty' for fifteenth (or sixteenth?) on p. 175; and 'Nebuchadrezzar' on p. 563 should be distinguished as 'Nebuchadrezzar I.'). But the maps are most of them miserable affairs. One would have expected one good physical map of Egypt and one of Mesopotamia; or at least one on a smaller scale of the whole of the Middle East from Egypt to Elam. It is vain, I know, to ask for illustrations, though in that section of history which is based entirely or mainly on objects, and for the chapters on art, they are a necessity, especially when there is no special reference in the bibliography to those books where illustrations are to be found. There is such a reference in the bibliography for Mr. Hall's very jejune chapter on the art of early Egypt and

Babylonia; but that is no help, for the same reference might as well be given in place of the entire chapter. The general reader may be expected to know the Pyramids, but not the statue of Senusret III. or the stele of Naram-Sin (if he did, he would be surprised to find Mr. Hall saying that the latter is 'undoubtedly fit to rank with the best that Egypt or Crete can produce'); and chapters (intended for general readers) on art without illustrations could be spared. But more important are illustrations of pottery and other objects where these are used to support arguments concerning movements of races or cultures; without them such arguments appear too dogmatic and are sooner forgotten. And we should particularly have liked an illustration to one of Professor Myres' more imaginative efforts: Mongoloid man had protective camouflage in the structure of his hair; 'while its extreme length in both sexes serves to disguise the characteristic profile of the human head and neck, and approximate it to that of a quadruped seen from behind.'

A. W. GOMME.

#### A CHRISTIAN CORPUS.

*Recueil des Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure.* Publié sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres par HENRI GRÉGOIRE. Fascicule I. Folio. Pp. iv + 128. Paris, 1922.

THIS great work, planned over thirty years by the late Mgr. Duchesne and promoted by M. Homolle, had its foundations laid in the listing of Christian texts by M. Cumont (1895). His notes were transferred (1907) to the present editor, who here publishes 534 inscriptions from the dioceses of Asia, the Islands, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Lydia; for such an achievement much gratitude is due to the Academy which made it possible and to M. Grégoire. In method, except for its 'literary' instead of 'literal' transcription, the collection resembles Lefebvre's Egyptian *Recueil* (1907), to which, however, it is far superior in variety and interest. Lefebvre, among his 808 texts, has but two dozen (*i.e.* about 1 in 32)

of the first rank; Grégoire, among his 534, gives not less than 66 (about 1 in 8) which are historically notable. Both print a number of inscriptions not previously known. Lefebvre's are of the short funerary type, whereas four of Grégoire's are long and important (100<sup>8</sup>, 107, 220<sup>bis</sup>, 282<sup>ter</sup>). The mass of learning lucidly embodied in the notes is all the more helpful because of the unfamiliarity of Byzantine spelling, terms, and abbreviations. Perhaps the most conspicuous fruit of the editor's toil are the old documents, for years half understood or meaningless, that now appear virtually new. Thus the poem in 81-82 (*C.I.G.* 8749) was probably written by Nicephorus Blemmydes about 1222; 83 (*C.I.G.* 9283) is the epitaph of John Vatatzes or of Theodore Lascaris; 224<sup>ter</sup> (*C.I.G.* 2883<sup>d</sup>) may refer to one of the last 'prophets' of the Didymaeon Apollo (Roussel's *εὐ]χρηστίαν ὁ(ν)* instead of *Χρηστία-ν ὁ(ν)* finds no support in the context);

the judge in 247 (C.I.G. 8644) is the sixth-seventh century historian Theophylact; the Michael of 226<sup>8</sup> (C.I.G. 8836) was an officer of the usurper Bardas Phocas; the bishop Theoleptos of 343<sup>bis</sup> (C.I.G. 8758) was eminent in the early fourteenth century. These are but a few specimens of the wealth which here for the first time becomes really accessible. Since the editor invites help in filling the unavoidable lacunae, we may note the following omissions: Smyrna, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1887, 249, 10: dated slab; *Mouseion*, 1876-1878, 44: ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς κτλ. Erythrae, *Jahreshefte*, 1910, Beibl. 74: two epitaphs. Antiphellos, *B.C.H.*, 1894, 325: ὑ]περὶ εὐχῆς κτλ. Thyatira, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1899, 237, 3: epitaph which seems certainly Christian, as pointed out by Calder, 'Philadelphia and Montanism,' *Bull. J. Rylands Library*, 1923, p. 347; *B.C.H.*, 1887, 465, 30, and *R. de Phil.*, 1913, 325, 17: texts mentioning Gratian and Valentinian. Maeonia, *B.C.H.*, 1893, 638: inscribed amulet; *R.E.G.*, 1901, 301, 2: epitaph, probably of a Jewess, invoking Μησωωλ (= 'Lord' in Hebrew?). Philadelphia, *J.H.S.*, 1917, 92, 4, 5, and 100, 11: three epitaphs; *R.E.G.*, 1901, 302, 3: ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Νέας Κο(λο-

φῶνος?). Mendechora, *J.H.S.*, 1917, 95, 8: text of A.D. 515. Sardis, *Mouseion*, 1878-1880, 183: preamble of decree, sixth or seventh century; *Am.J.A.*, 1914, 10-11, 12 (like our 265), and 13: epitaph; *L.B.W.*, 1654: formula ἔσται αὐτῷ π. τ. θεόν (as in our 8). The better copy of 342 in *J.H.S.*, 1917, 99, 9, has been overlooked. The proof-reading leaves a good deal to be desired (e.g. *μυσρῶνα* for *μυσερῶν*, 324, l. 2); and the rendering in type of the Greek originals is by no means faultless. In 28 Munro's copy is hardly recognisable; 63, where the fourth letter is μ, not η, should probably be read ὁ θεός με ὁ(ρᾷ). The transcription of 38 seems to be ὁ(ρ) Παρθεν(ίου) καὶ βασιλικῶν; cf. 89 and 333<sup>ter</sup>. The verses in 37 may have run thus: Φρίξον τ[ρόμφ τε καὶ] | κλαῦ[σ]ον βλέπ[ων πρὸ] | τ[ὸ] τοῦ βίου δρόμ[ον, μήπως] | σκότος κάτο | (π)έσι + ἴσκει|μάτον ἀνε|υ τίς οὐσί|[ας γέμων?]. For the spelling of (ι)σχημάτων cf. 344, ll. 3-4. 315 may be read as a verse: [πρ]οσφόρως ὕ|κεσθαι, κα(ν) ὁράο[ς] π[ρ]άτ[τ]ομεν (i.e. εὐχεσθαι ὥραιως). Corrections noted from my copies are: 324, l. 1, γνῶ(σις) τῶν διατυπωθ(έντων); 338, l. 13, συνβήου μου ἅμα δέ, as in Fontrier's copy; 325 (cf. Hirschfeld's copy, Vienna), βοηθῇσι ἐπισκόπου θεός +.

W. H. BUCKLER.

## THE ORIGINAL GREEK METRE.

*Les Origines indo-européennes des Mètres grecs.* By A. MEILLET. Pp. viii + 78. Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1923. Price 12 fr.

THE author argues that metre in any language depends upon the rhythmic structure of that language, and that the ancient Indo-European verse, 'devait reposer sur des alternances de longues et de brèves, être caractérisée par υ, admettre des séquences telles que υυ et ---, et ne comporter υυυ que par exception.' He goes on to say that iambic and trochaic Greek verse and the Aeolian lyric types such as the Sapphic sprang from 'un seul et même type indo-européen dont les vers védiques de 8, 11 et 12 syllabes ont conservé l'image plus fidèlement que les types grecs.' He does not seem to

be acquainted with the writings of certain other scholars upon this subject, notably E. V. Arnold and J. W. White. 'It is now a commonplace of Comparative Metric,' says the latter, 'that the primitive poetic forms in Aryan speech were a dimeter of eight and a trimeter of eleven or twelve syllables' (*Verse of Greek Comedy*, § 600). A more novel and certainly interesting suggestion is that the hexameter was borrowed more or less from the Aegean civilisation, but here also, as the author says himself, he has been anticipated by K. Meyer.

He hardly seems to have thought out his views very profoundly. After saying that Greek metre had no ictus, he admits (p. 61) that the hexameter was accompanied by 'un instrument



à percussion qui soulignait le rythme,' and (p. 20) that 'plus une musique est élémentaire . . . plus le rythme y est régulier, plus brutalement il y est marqué.' If verse is sung to a rhythm 'brutalement marqué,' what does it matter whether you say the verse in itself had an ictus or not? Again he asserts that there was only a 'quantitative rhythm' in both Vedic and Greek verse. What is a 'quantitative rhythm'? For Greek verse, at any rate, it is a meaningless phrase. ---○○-- may be Ionic or Dorian or glyconic or half a hexameter, and the difference in value of these four is immense; if the rhythm were simply quantitative, would they not all be the same? And the greater part of the Vedic verse was composed of long and short syllables quite promiscuously; that is to say that it had so far *no* quantitative rhythm, but the verse must have depended on something else than quantity. What was this? The only possible answer seems to be that it was the musical rhythm, as in the case of a Gregorian chant, where the phrase has no definite quantity or rhythm till just at the end and yet is a musical unit.<sup>1</sup> To discuss metre without taking the music into consideration is to talk of colours while ignoring the light which makes them what they are. 'But we do not know the music.' Then argue from the known to the unknown, as M. Meillet does when he says that all primitive music has a rhythm 'brutalement marqué.' Probably he is right in this, and it is refreshing to see him come out of the enchanted castle of metrical cobweb into the realm of common sense. Dancers, too, fancy dancers dancing without an ictus! If anybody can point out any music or any dancing whatever which has no ictus, it will then be time to talk about metres which were sung and danced as having none. But I fear I may be stirring up a hornets' nest again.

It always surprises me that metricians speak as if quantitative metre were dead. It is very much alive—*e.g.*, in

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to observe that the recent development of the French Alexandrine has ended in the primitive form of a long verse with no regularisation except at the twelfth syllable.

Persia. Make as much allowance as you please for the differences, still there in Persia is verse depending on quantity and including ionics, glyconics, iambics, and trochees. The Oriental theorists divide up a glyconic into -○○-|○○-, exactly as a Greek theorist did, and they regard it as the third variation of --○-|--○-, whereof the seventh variation is ○-○-|○-○-. But when it comes to the point they do sing it as a cyclic dactyl ('horresco referens'), two trochees and a long syllable. When I consider these things I am greatly inclined to believe that the cobwebs of the metricians have not a very close relation to facts, and to agree with M. Meillet when he contemptuously throws over Aristoxenus and the rest bag and baggage. But he really ought to have discussed the question more seriously. He will dismiss the Persians, I daresay, with yet greater contempt, but to me they do seem to throw a flood of light upon the way in which Greek metres actually worked in practice, especially in their cross-rhythms. To argue from dead metres like Sanscrit, which we do not know how to read, to metres which actually exist alive, is as if one should argue from the bones of a mesozoic reptile to the intestines of a modern lizard. So do I sit bloated in the middle of *my* cobweb.

M. Meillet objects to dividing most Greek metres into feet at all. But to deny feet to a Sapphic because it may have been developed out of a footless line like the Sanscrit is to confuse the origin of a metre with its mature form. If you can prove barred music to be developed from Gregorian that will not prove that it is not barred. Surely the most interesting question about the Sapphic is not whether it came from an unbarred line of eleven syllables, but what was the rhythm to which Sappho set those syllables: that rhythm is fixed, and I do not see how anyone with a sense of rhythm can sing it save in one way, whatever theories he may spin about it, and sing it in feet or bars he must. Rhythm is like the golden tree of life and 'grey is all theory': let the origin be what it will, the tree will expand in its own way and will shatter the pipkin theory to which you seek to

confine it. And to measure living things needs all the resources of science. No one could measure the gallop of a horse before instantaneous photography; now we see what the early guesses were worth. No one could measure much modern verse rhythm before the kymograph, and the theorists had better test their theories by it. If only Aristoxenus had possessed one!

If I find it impossible to follow M. Meillet on these general questions, neither can I accept a number of his details. Thus Porson's law is incorrectly stated on p. 52, things are said about the epic on p. 61 which make one stare, the pentameter is said on p. 70 to be 'shorter' than the hexameter, and on p. 74 we are told that there are 'quatre types de la mesure à 5 temps connus dans l'usage : - u -, u --, - u u u et u u u -,' as if those were all.

Much the most interesting part of this treatise is the comparison with Sanscrit at the beginning, and it is unfortunate for M. Meillet that he had not met with the works mentioned above which have anticipated him, at any rate in the main. His remarks on the difficulty of fitting the Greek language to the hexameter (pp. 57-60) are valuable, and appear to have a great deal of truth in them.

N.B.—The statements about Persian metre made above are guaranteed by Sir E. Dennison Ross. He informs me also that the Oriental theorists never breathe a hint about ictus. Powerful logicians will conclude that the Persian poets had none; but they were like Alcaeus and Sappho, human beings, not mesozoic lizards.

ARTHUR PLATT.

#### FURNEAUX, HAVERFIELD, AND ANDERSON.

*Cornelii Taciti De Vita Agricolaë*. Edited by H. FURNEAUX. Second edition revised and largely rewritten by J. G. C. ANDERSON, with contributions by the late Professor F. HAVERFIELD. One vol. 8vo. Pp. lxxxvii + 192. Twenty-five maps, plans, and illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. 7s. 6d. net.

FURNEAUX' *Agricola* was published twenty-five years ago, and at that time the possibilities of archaeological research as we know it to-day were hardly imagined. Roman sites in this country had indeed been carefully surveyed, inscriptions had been collected and excavations undertaken; but till about 1895 the use of the spade as an instrument of precision was not understood by our antiquaries, and the results which it was capable of yielding were wholly unsuspected. Furneaux' edition was published at the very moment when a new epoch in the study of ancient history was beginning—namely, the epoch of scientific digging. If anyone asks what scientific digging has done, he cannot do better than compare the original Furneaux with Mr. Anderson's admirable new edition of it, for the main difference between the two books is

simply that Mr. Anderson's is enriched by the archaeological labours of the last twenty-five years. These have, as Mr. Anderson says, 'let in a flood of light' upon the history of Roman Britain, and in especial upon the work of Agricola, for his is a name which has never been long absent from the mind of any English or Scottish antiquary whose studies have led him to the Roman period. The new way of studying that period was especially preached and practised by Professor Haverfield, and it was only natural that he should design a new edition of the *Agricola* in which its fruits, so far as they could be connected with Tacitus' narrative, should be summarised. It was well known that he was working on this edition at the end of his life, but his sudden death cut his work short; and Mr. Anderson, who undertook to carry it on, was faced with the difficult task of preparing for publication a work which was not only incomplete, but of which very little was actually on paper at all. All readers of the book—and they will be numerous—will be grateful to him for a volume which, small as it is to the eye, contains a vast quantity of material, and represents an amount

of labour actually greater than would have been the case had the book been written by a single hand; for nothing is harder than to edit the work of another, especially if it deals with a subject on which that other is the leading authority. And here the editing is twofold, Haverfield's own work being superimposed on a stratum of Furneaux'. The result is not only an edition of the *Agricola* which will for many years be the standard edition, but also a storehouse of archaeological detail relating to Roman Britain. The Clarendon Press is especially to be congratulated on producing so important a work at so low a price, and on supplying it with excellent maps, plans, and illustrations. But we could have done with fewer advertisements. At the end they were no doubt inevitable; but why should they crop out at the beginning as well?

R. G. COLLINGWOOD.

Every part of the book has been revised with care and skill. To Mr. Collingwood's testimony I would add that the text has been overhauled, not only where *E* and *T* have shown up *A* and *B*, but throughout; and that in the commentary as much good thought has been bestowed on points of Latinity as on matters of archaeology and history. Little of Furneaux's that was worth keeping has been cut out; his wording has often been altered, seldom wantonly, mostly for the better; and the substance of his notes has been largely improved and enriched.<sup>1</sup>

So good a book can do without lengthy praise, and I will give the rest of my space to some suggestions which might make the next edition even better than this.

(1) Haverfield's part in the work should be treated with the same pious freedom as Furneaux's. His last thoughts, if he had lived to print, might well have been juster to the claim which Tacitus makes for Agricola in x. 5; and he might have cancelled the remark

about Intimilium which stands on p. xxxix (does not Tacitus add 'Liguria pars est?'). And the next edition of his chapter on the MSS. should give pride of place to *E*: it is topsy-turvy to begin with the worse MSS. just because they were brought into play before their betters. Room would thus be saved, which might be used to give us something more about the readings of Puteolanus and Ursinus.

(2) It is penny-wise of the publishers to tuck away the Index Nominum in the middle of the book.

(3) A welcome addition would be a list of the points in which the discovery of *E* and *T* necessitates corrections of Gerber and Greef's Lexicon.

(4) I append a few remarks on certain passages.

ix. 1. The ablative 'administratione,' 'in respect of its functions,' is lame. I conjecture 'splendida inprimis dignatus administratione.'

xvi. 2. Insert 'revocare tamen placuit,' or words to that effect, after 'restituit.' At the end of the section 'ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor' must mean 'as every man (is apt to do) in avenging a wrong done to himself.' Because it was against himself that the Britons had rebelled, Paulinus might be more ruthless than a successor.

xxi. 3. Tacitus, to be sure, can twist anything into a vice for the nonce, but colonnades, baths, and tasteful repasts, make a strange trio of vices even for him. His other uses of the word 'delenimentum' suggest that 'delenimenta vitiorum' means 'palliatives of vice.'

xxiv. 3. The conjecture 'audivit' deserves mention; it transfers the false estimate from the Roman general to the Irish refugee.

xli. 2. ('tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti.') Furneaux boldly translated 'militares viri' by 'officers.' Mr. Anderson is more cautious: "Military men," "soldiers," as we say: officers are here meant.' But 'soldiers' is here *said*; and 'so many soldiers with so many cohorts' is a phrase not to be borne. Hence the old conjectures 'vici' and 'numeri'; which do not satisfy, though it is no good answer to them to show that

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Anderson wishes these corrections to be made:—On p. xxxvi add a quotation-mark after *Graupius*; in the note on p. xlviii read 'Denbighshire'; in one of the notes on p. 89 read 'M. Trebellius Maximus, consul probably in A.D. 56 or 55'; on p. 165 read *viii* for *viii*.

'expugnati' can be used of persons. I had thought of 'limitares vici,' but I would rather suggest 'tribuni,' supposing that 'militares viri,' or at least

'militares,' started life as an annotation. For the next word but one I prefer the 'totis' of E's text to its marginal 'tot.'  
E. HARRISON.

### RADERMACHER'S *FROGS*.

*Aristophanes' 'Frösche.'* Einleitung, Text und Kommentar von L. RADERMACHER. (*Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-historische Klasse*, 198. Band, 4. Abhandlung, 1921.)

THIS is an excellent commentary which deserves careful consideration from all students of Aristophanes. Radermacher is well read in the literature of his author, and his own views are always suggestive. He is noticeably fair to work done outside his own country, especially in England and America. The special feature of his edition, though by no means its only merit, is the thorough examination of the play in the light of comparative folklore. It must be confessed that the results do not affect the interpretation of the text to any considerable extent, but it was a task worth undertaking, and few classical scholars could do it better than the author of *Das Jenseits im Mythos der Hellenen*.

The Introduction deals mainly with the origin of Comedy and the influence of the Old Comedy on the New. As many are interested in the problem of the Origin of Comedy, I offer what, I hope, is a fair summary of R.'s view.

*Κωμῳδία* is an Attic invention developed out of the Attic *κῶμος* and the Doric actor. There is no need to seek elsewhere for its origin. It owes nothing to Epicharmos, Phormis, or any other Sicilian. Epicharmos had no Dionysiac Festival behind him. His plays are never called comedies, but *δράματα*. He had a chorus, but there is no evidence that his chorus ever appeared under animal forms. He may have influenced Attic Tragedy to some extent at the beginning when its development was still uncertain. Phrynichus, for instance, may have owed his preference for the trochaic tetrameter to this source. But there is no reason to believe that he influenced Comedy. Comedy implies a masked *κῶμος*. (This,

according to R., should rule out Aristotle's statement that it was derived from the Phallophoroi, since the Phallophoroi were not masked.) What a *κῶμος* was like can be inferred from Aristotle's story in Athen. 348 of the rich man Telestagoras who had become a proverb among the fishermen of Naxos because of his meanness, and on this account was 'ragged' (*ἐκώμασαν πρὸς αὐτόν*) by a band of youths carrying a large fish. This looks like an aetiological story to explain the custom of a *κῶμος* carrying such symbols as a fish or swallows or crows. Probably it was some spring celebration in which the *κῶμος* went round begging, and the fish, etc., which they carried was a begging symbol. Traces of some such origin survive in Varro's account (based upon ancient authority) that Comedy derives from the custom of the youth of Attica who *circum uicos ire solita fuerat et quaestus sui causa hoc genus carminis pronuntiabat*. . . . The *περὶ κωμῳδίας* preserves the same tradition when it speaks of *κωμῳδία ἀγυρτρὶς*. R. would also find a trace of it in the fragment of Aristophanes' *Danaïdes* (Athen. 57 A), where the vegetables which the chorus carry under their armpits represent the harvest of their begging tour. Such a *κῶμος* by itself could not develop into drama without an Agon, and there is no reason to search for the Agon in the masked *βουκολιασταί* of Syracuse. It is 'allgemein Hellenisches.' Here, I think, he will carry most readers with him, since the improvised wrangle with its improvised 'back-chat' is common to mankind everywhere, and must lie at the bottom of all comic drama. The Agon, then, formed part of the *κῶμος*. Parabasis and Agon are the primal elements from which Comedy at Athens has developed. They are part of a concerted performance which begins in motion in the Parabasis and ends in a position of rest in the Agon. The

phrase *παραβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον* is in the same construction as *ἄδειν* or *κωμάζειν πρὸς τινα*.

I note a few of the passages in which it seems to me that R. has improved the interpretation, and a few in which I should differ from him:

27 *δνος* should be read with Ravennas (not *οὔνος*), since there is a play on the use of the word as a slang term for a slave, a meaning now known from *Par. Berol.* 9941. 93 *χειλιδόνων μουσεῖα*. Tucker is surely right in insisting that the original phrase in the Alkmene must have been *ἀηδόνων μ.* 119 *ἄγαν* is constructed *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* with *θερμῆν* as well as *ψυχράν*. 179 *γεννάδας* is a word imported into Athens from Laconia. 'Your master is a man *κατὰ Δώριον τρόπον*.' 227 R. reads in his note (but not in his text) *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστ(ε) ἀλλ' ἡ κοάξ*, and *Lysist.* 139 certainly seems to support this view. 396 *μολπή* belongs to the Eleusinian terminology. Hence Iacchus, who (as Foucart has shown) is really a stranger in Eleusis, is summoned *ῥαδαῖσι*, not *μολπαῖσι*. 565 I should hesitate to accept R.'s defence of *πω* here. He thinks that *δειςάσα πω* is equivalent to *οὐπω θαρροῦσαι*. 608 *Σκεβλύας* perhaps suggests *κέβλος*, a word for a 'monkey' preserved by Hesychius. *Παρδόκας* = Spartacus, but also conveying the popular derivation of all such names from *πέρδεσθαι*, as can be seen from Strabo 619 C. 625 *οὕτω* = *ἄνευ τιμῆς*. 655 *ἐπεὶ προτιμᾷς*

*γ' οὐδέν*; *ἐπεὶ* = *alioquin* (? *enim*). Cf. an inscription from Cayster valley *ἐξέστω δὲ μηδενὶ ἐτέρῳ ἐξωτικῷ τεθῆναι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον, ἐπεὶ ἀποδώσει εἰς τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίσκον δηνάρια ἑπτακόσια*. 694 R. defends Kirchhoff's view. The Plataeans, after the destruction of their city, had been given Athenian citizenship and settled in Skione in Chalcidice. The slaves manumitted after Arginusae were also settled at Skione (cf. schol.) and in this sense were Plataeans. 710 R. would read *κυκησίτεφροι*, since nouns of this formation ought always to be active in sense. 790 R. holds (as, I think, rightly) that *ὑποχωρεῖν* cannot mean 'conceded,' which would be *παρ-χωρεῖν* (cf. 767), but must mean 'Aeschylus (*κάκεινος*) made room for him.' There is no reason why two persons should not share a *θρόνος*. He compares Plutarch, *Inst. Lac.* 237 D, where young Spartans are instructed *τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐντρέπεσθαι . . . ὁδῶν ὑποχωροῦντας*. 903 R. pertinently quotes Philo, *de plant.* 24 *τυφῶσι μὲν . . . αὐτόπρεμνα δένδρα πρὸς ἄερα ἀνασπᾶται. αὐτόπρεμνος (= αὐτόρριζος)* is used proleptically. *Λόγοις* is substituted for *δένδροις*. 'He falls on the arguments, as if they were trees and uproots them and scatters many a sandy wrestling place of rhetoric.' 906 *ἀστεῖα* refers especially to a happy use of metaphor. In this play 939-944 would be a good instance.

F. W. HALL.

### MERRILL'S CATULLUS.

*Catulli Veronensis liber*. Recensuit ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL. One vol. Foolscap 8vo. Pp. viii + 92. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1923. Paper, about 1s. 4d.

THE publisher asked Professor Merrill to make his notes as short as possible; 'quam ob rem' says he 'uarias lectiones meliorum codicum Catullianorum neque omnes (uel fere omnes), ut olim mihi proposui, neque multas in calce paginarum exhibere possum.' That is not so: there is ample room in his notes for every MS variant which a student really needs to know; but this room is otherwise occupied, and half the ship's

cargo has been thrown overboard to save the bilge-water.

By his own rule the apparatus criticus of Catullus is to be constructed 'ex O (O<sup>2</sup> raro) GRR<sup>2</sup> solis, neglectis quae uaria MM<sup>2</sup>G<sup>2</sup> et omnes alii intulerint'; yet I have counted some 30 occurrences of G<sup>2</sup> alone. Again, he will squander his precious space at this rate: 75 3 'uelle queat tibi La. uelleque tot tibi V uelle queam tibi ω': tibi three times where it should not appear at all and uelle where it need not; 'queat La., queam iam ω, -que tot V' would tell all that wants telling. But his main purpose in withholding indispensable in-

formation and deceiving the reader by silence is to find room for a long record of conjectures which dishonour the human intellect. A brilliant and celebrated emendation like Schrader's *Eous* at 62 35 he cannot mention, nor such shrewd and thoughtful proposals as *deprendis* *ibid.*, *Africis* 48 5, *saluete bonarum* 64 23b, *acta* 116 7; he prefers the worst conjectures of the worst critics. When I say that more than 60 proceed from Robinson Ellis and nearly 30 from his disciples, their average quality can be imagined. At 64 359 'iter caesis angustans corporum acruis' there should either be no note or this note, '*cessis* O, *celsis* Bae.': what we find instead is '*caecis* (coll. *Ou. met.* I 24) *Ell.*', a conjecture whose proper place is not the pillory but the grave; and at 64 207 more than a line is sacrificed to registering a proposal of the same character and authorship. It would have been better to leave a blank at 98 6 than to fill it with Mr Hendrickson's conjecture, 'if you want to be the death of us all you need only split'. The notes on 80 are these: '4 e V de *Ell.* (ex te D). 7 *fictoris* *Ell.* (coll. *Non.* 308)'. In both verses the text is faultless; the one conjecture is based on nothing but a preference for bad MSS, and the absurdity of the other is not redeemed by its obscenity; yet for their sweet sake we must forgo the knowledge that in 8 the MSS have *ille te mulso*, and the critics who restored *ilia et emulso* must be robbed of the credit due to them. The difficulties of 10 9 sq. can be removed by writing 'nihil neque ipsis | *nunc* (Westphal) *quaestoribus* (Muretus) esse nec cohorti': the corrections are not certain, but they are sensible. Mr Merrill quotes instead—no, he misquotes, as Ellis did before him<sup>1</sup>—Traube's slapdash conjecture '*mihi neque ipsi* (thus much is *Estaço's*) [*hoc praetore fuisse nec cohorti*]', which is shown to be false by verses 12 sq.,

<sup>1</sup> Mr Merrill's dependence on Ellis is almost ludicrous. 64 23 '*dein spatium quinquaginta fere litterarum* (*Ell.*)': our informant is Keil, and Ellis merely substituted a round number for Keil's 'quadraginta octo'. When Ellis appropriates the conjectures of others, 31 5, 55 9, 64 273, 350, Mr Merrill repeats the false ascription

and he adds two more which are not much better. At 10 33 '*sed tu insulsa male et molesta uiuis*' he has no room to say what the MSS give instead of *insulsa*, yet room for such frivolity as '*niuis* O *cuiuis* Monse *abibis* Busche'. At 64 273 '*leuiterque sonant*' he neither mentions that G omits *que* nor tells us whether or no R omits it, but cites three conjectures, one of them impossible. At 66 12 '*uastatum finis iuerat Assyrios*' his note is '*iuerat ante Syros* *Ow.*' instead of '*uastum* V.' At 64 89 he prints the conjecture *progignunt*, and in the note, instead of the MS reading, another conjecture.

The book teems with suggestio falsi. A bare text without notes is not deceptive, because the reader knows his ignorance and suspends belief; but these notes perpetually encourage him to wrong conclusions. At 1 8 he finds *habe tibi* in the text and '*tibi habe* V' in the note. When therefore at 23 13 and 39 3 and 64 334 and 66 85 and 68 160 he finds *magis aridum* and *orator excitat* and *tales unquam* and *dona leuis bibat* and *dulce mihi* in the text and nothing in the notes, how can he fail to infer that the MSS give the words in this order? how can he suspect that they really give *aridum magis* and *excitat orator* and *unquam tales* and *leuis bibat dona* and *michi dulce*? When at two of the three places where Tethys occurs he is told that the MSS call her Thetis, what inference but a false one can he draw from the silence of the note at 64 29? When at 4 3 '*neque ullius natantis impetum trabis*' he reads '*illius* V', how can he help concluding that if V had *tardis* for *trabis* he would be warned of it? When such a trifle as the variant *tum* for *tunc* is recorded at 64 56, how can he conceive that this editor has left him ignorant in places where the MSS have *tamen . . . est* for *tum . . . es*, *uocare cura* for *uocaret aura*, *posse* for *se*, *inimica* for *minuta*, *luci* for *iugi*, *adlenire* for *aduenere*, *nicens* a for *moenia*, *Pharsaliam* for *Pharsalum*, *tum* for *nunc*, *tuos* for *talos*, *currus* for *tauros*, *pro* for *me*, *numula* for *lumina*, *deficeret* for *desideret*, *corpore* for *torpor*, *inquam* for *ni quem*? At 66 50 '*ferri fingere duritiem*' the only note is '*fingere* O *fringere* GR *stringere* Hey.' The reason

why Heyse made his conjecture, and why most editors accept it, is that the MSS have not *ferri* but *ferris*. Such deficiency in craftsmanship or care or sense is not distinguishable by its consequences from malice aforethought and an intent to deceive.

The editor's own conjectures at 55 9 and 68 118 call for no remark except that the one is violent and that half of the other is not his; but at 64 16 he relegates to the note proposals of Lachmann's and Friedrich's which yield reasonable sense, and prints in the text his own, which is 'illa (*ecquanam alia?*) uiderunt luce . . . mortales . . . nymphas'. The answer to this injudicious question is *yes*: Hom. *Il.* XVIII 35-145, Ap. Rh. IV 930-67, etc.

Mr Merrill has special disqualifications for editing a poet. At 62 63 he prints an hexameter beginning 'tertia patri pars', and boasts in his note 'sic scripsi'. At 52 2 'sella in curuli struma Nonius sedet' he says '*nonius* V fortasse recte'; and therefore, though he does well to keep *Fuficio* out of the text at 54 5, he will not be suspected of knowing the quantity of its second syllable. Whatever his partiality for the Ellisian type of conjecture, he would hardly have cited *fragrans* 6 8 and *tablam* 63 9 if he had been aware that they are unmetrical. On p. VII, under the heading *prosodia Catulli*, he says 'diastole bis apparet (64 360 *tepefaciet*; 90 6 *liquefaciens*: sed cf. 68 29 *tepefaciet*): the *e* was original and *tepefaciet* is systole. He adds to his preface a couple of pages on *metra Catulli* 'quae tironibus auxilio sint'. German tiros can learn metre from experts; it is in Mr Merrill's country and mine that tiros are instructed by their fellow-tiros. On the continent of Europe even a tiro may

smile to see the Galliambic chopped up into trochees and tribrachs diversified with dactyls and *μακρὰν τρίχρονον*. 'Versus Galliambicus' says Mr Merrill 'ex origine tetrameter Ionicus a minore catalecticis esse adfirmatur'. *adfirmatur* indeed! It is Ionic, and no metrist mistakes it for anything else; it is as thoroughly known as the dactylic hexameter and much simpler than the iambic senarius. Competent authority speaks with one voice, and provokes a babel of dissent from the Anglo-Saxon race, which will not study metre and yet presumes to have opinions upon it. Error by its very nature is manifold, and the dissenters dissent from one another: where Mr Merrill finds trochees and dactyls, Dr Postgate (*Prosodia Latina* p. 104), who calls the verse composite, finds iambi and anapaests, and R. Y. Tyrrell (*C.R.* 1893 p. 44), who calls it antispastic, finds all four. To Catullus the Phalaecean hendecasyllable was probably also Ionic, as it was to Varro and Quintilian and as it evidently is in Soph. *Ai.* 634 and 645. Mr Merrill scans it on Hermann's system, which is already discarded by Hermann's compatriots; but Parisian fashions have a second life in Bayswater, and this scansion, congenial to British and American notions, is sure of a refuge under the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes. Mr Merrill's scheme of the iambic scazon is another obsolete piece of apriorism, to which he adds an error of his own by allowing a long syllable in the ninth place.

There is given a *conspectus editorum*, including Bentley, Bergk, Buecheler, Burman, and many more who never edited Catullus in their lives; Rossbach, who did, is omitted, and *Ro.* stands for Mr K. Rossberg.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## PLATO'S LETTERS.

*Die Briefe Platons.* Herausgegeben von ERNST HOWALD. Zürich, 1923.

Now that Wilamowitz has joined the company of those who maintain the authenticity of at least the seventh and eighth of the letters handed down in the Academy as Plato's, it was to be expected that younger scholars would be

tempted to cultivate this almost virgin soil. As the present editor observes in his Preface, 'the genuine letters of Plato produce the effect of an unexpected find from the sands of Egypt.' On the general question of the thirteen epistles appended to the Academic edition of Plato's works, I have said



what I have to say elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and I need not repeat it now. I shall only call attention to one or two points which are not satisfactorily dealt with in this edition. Howald regards Epistles VI., VII. and VIII. as undoubtedly genuine, and he very properly defends even the 'epistemological' section of VII. That is to say, he accepts considerably more than half of the traditional corpus; for these three letters are the longest and the most important. It follows that, if we are to condemn the remaining ten with any confidence, we must explain how they came to be included in the Academic edition at least as early as the second century B.C., especially as the subscription to Epistle XII. (*ἀντιλέγεται ὡς οὐ Πλάτωνος*) amounts, on the principle of *exceptio probat regulam*, to a statement that none of the others were disputed. That does not prove, of course, that they are genuine; for the Academic editors of the Platonic dialogues certainly admitted one or two compositions of the third century B.C.; but they meant to be critical, as is shown by the fact that they relegated half-a-dozen dialogues to an appendix of *νοθευόμενοι*. It is not the case, then, that the authenticity of each epistle has to be established independently. It is true rather to say that there is a presumption of authenticity, and that the burden of proof is on those who dispute it.

Now I do not suppose any one will ever be persuaded that Epistle I. could possibly have been written by Plato, and that, of course, makes a bad impression at the very outset. On the other hand, it must be observed that there is not a word in the letter itself to suggest that it was written by Plato. That rests altogether on the superscription, and there are good grounds for holding that the superscriptions are due to the Academic editor. It is curious at least that while the letters to Archytas are headed *Ἀρχύτα Ταραντίνῳ*, the only form which occurs in the body of the letters (in XIII. as well as in VII.) is *Ἀρχύτης*. On the other hand, Epistle

II. and Epistle XIII., to take only these, undoubtedly profess to be Plato's; and, if they are not, they are deliberate forgeries, though the language in which they are written shows that they belong to the fourth century B.C. That is surely a very difficult hypothesis.

The chief stumbling-block in Epistle II. seems to be the sentence—

διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν πάποτ' ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων γέγραφα, οὐδ' ἔστιν σύγγραμμα Πλάτωνος οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἔσται, τὰ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενα Σωκράτους ἐστὶν καλοῦ καὶ νέου γεγονότος (314c).

I have been quite unable to make out what Howald (or, for the matter of that, Wilamowitz) supposes this sentence to mean, but surely it is quite simple. Plato is warning Dionysius that he must not expect to find a full statement of the mature Platonic philosophy in the published *Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι*. On any possible theory, that is surely obvious, and the last clause means 'What now go by the name of Plato's writings belong to a beautified and rejuvenated Socrates.' I take this to refer to the fact that most of Plato's dialogues represent Socrates as he was, or as he might be imagined, at a time before Plato was ten years old or even before he was born, not as the elderly man whom Plato actually knew.<sup>2</sup> Howald's note is mysterious. He says that this is the Socrates who would be an old, old man (*urali, steinalt*) if he were still living, whereas in the dialogues he is younger than he would be now. No one, he adds, will excite himself for the view that *Σωκράτης ὁ νεώτερος*, whom we know from the *Theaetetus* and its sequels and from Aristotle, is meant, and he confesses that he was tempted to read *Ἰσοκράτους*!

With regard to Epistle XIII., it seems to be felt that it is somehow unworthy of a 'philosopher,' who ought to be above such mundane considerations as sending presents to his hostess and her children, and asking to be remembered to the people he played

<sup>1</sup> *Greek Philosophy, Part I., Thales to Plato* Macmillan, 1914), § 157.

<sup>2</sup> As I have been strangely accused of representing Plato as a sort of Boswell, may I point out that this is the great difference? The dialogues dealing with the trial and death of Socrates form, of course, a class by themselves.

tennis with (συμφαιριστάι). To me it seems a very human document indeed, and it only increases my respect and admiration for the great Athenian. The financial details, which shock some people so much, impress me as intended to convey just such a dignified, but decided, snub as a gentleman might permit himself in writing to a spoilt princeling who thought it beneath him to trouble about his pecuniary obligations. I do not at all understand what Howald means by talking about the

*schmutzige Vertraulichkeiten* of the letter.

However, this book is welcome as a sign of the times, and it is a thankless task to pick holes in it. It is more important to call attention to the fine piece of work that still awaits some young scholar who will take the trouble to master the history of Sicily in the fourth century, and who will prepare himself for editing the *Epistiles* by first assimilating the *Timaëus* and the *Laws*.

JOHN BURNET.

### CHRISTIANS AND PAGANS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN LEVANT.

*Licht vom Osten.* Von ADOLF DEISSMANN. Vierte, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage, mit 83 Abb. im Text. Pp. xvii + 447. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923.

*Lettere cristiane dai Papiri greci del III. e IV. Secolo.* Di GIUSEPPE GHEDINI. Pp. xxviii + 376. Milano: Presso l'amministrazione di 'Aegyptus,' 1923.

*The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter: A Study in Greek Epistolography.* By the REV. F. X. J. EXLER. Pp. 141. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1923.

FAR from being a reprint of the second and third edition, well known in England in the translation of L. R. M. Strachan, the fourth edition of Professor Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* is a brave attempt, against heavy odds, to bring this most useful book up to date. For this purpose Professor Deissmann has succeeded in utilising, with a fulness which represents a real triumph over insuperable difficulties, the epigraphical and papyrological material published in Germany and abroad since 1909; and he has been helped by the special studies both of others and of his own pupils, such as the illuminating paper on 'Der Attizismus und das Neue Testament,' published by W. Michaelis in *Zeitsch. f. nt. Wissensch.*, 1923, p. 91 ff. The book has been revised and added to throughout, and the new illustrative material represented in the illustrations alone includes the Quirinius inscriptions and the Λούκιος-Λουκάς pair from Pisidian Antioch, the *lytron* inscription of Kula, the epitaph

of the Roman Jewess Regina, and the *diptychon* of Valerius Quadratus from the Fayûm, as well as a number of documents on papyrus. The omission of one of the most instructive of 'illustrative' inscriptions, the Zeus-Hermes dedication of Sedasa, near Lystra, is the more to be regretted that it was published in time to be mentioned in a footnote to the English translation of the third edition (p. 280).<sup>1</sup> Too late for inclusion in the present edition appeared the Ephesian inscription of Phlegethius (circa A.D. 441), Count of the Domestici and Proconsul of Asia, who reminds the people of Smyrna that 'they deserve punishment, and goes on: διὰ δὲ τὰς ἐκβοήσεις ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ αὐτῶν τὰς δεήσεις τὸ καθόλου παρακροῦσθαι, ἀπολύομεν ὑμᾶς κτλ. (Grégoire, *Recueil*, etc., No. 100<sup>8</sup>; *Anatolian Studies pres. to Ramsay*, p. 154 ff.). This text should be added to the papyrus of the Prefect of Egypt, Septimius Vegetus (A.D. 85: ἄξιός μὲν ἦς μαστιγωθῆναι . . . χαρίζομαι δέ σε τοῖς ὄχλοις), quoted by D. (p. 229) to illustrate the procedure of Pontius Pilate (βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὸ ἱκανὸν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββάν). The action of these two Roman officials in the Greek East at

<sup>1</sup> This inscription (see *Class. Rev.*, 1910, p. 76) was revised by the writer in June, 1910, when the restoration Δι' Ἡλίου was observed to fit the broken traces in the last line exactly. The natives said that no ancient stones were found at Balyklagho, and that the nearest sites yielding ancient stones were at Serai and Ak Kilisse, the latter an hour distant in a straight line. This inscription doubtless belongs to Ak Kilisse.

an interval of centuries suggests that Pilate's procedure was neither fabulous nor capricious. In the confident hope that Professor Deissmann's courage and energy will rise to a fifth edition, which the resumption of excavation and exploration in the Near East is certain to necessitate before long, the writer ventures to offer a few suggestions on the new epigraphical sections of the book, with which alone he is competent to deal.

On the Quirinius inscriptions a somewhat fuller statement of their bearing on the problem of Luke's chronology would be advisable (p. 5). The question is still *sub iudice*; and if Dessau's view of the date of these inscriptions (referred to by D.) is correct, they cease to have any bearing on the question of the date of Quirinius' first governorship of Syria. The argument would have to fall back on the Egyptian census papers and on the dated Augustan milestones of the Pisidian military roads. One of the latter, which St. Paul certainly saw with his own eyes, and which still stands where he passed it, might well find a place in this book. The *lytron* inscription of Kula (p. 278) has been correctly transcribed by W. H. Buckler (*A.B.S.A.*, 1914-16, p. 181 ff.), who explains Γαλλικῶ as a feminine proper name, like Καλλιστώ, Ἰερῶ, etc., and clears away an unwarranted epithet of the god Mén. The two inscriptions from the *Hieron* near Antioch, which prove that in one case the forms Λούκιος and Λουκάς were applied to a single individual, ought not to be adduced (as on p. 372 ff.) as a proof that St. Luke's formal name was Lucius. It is highly probable that it was; but neither can there be any doubt that Λουκάς was short for Lucanus, Lucianus, possibly even Lucilius, as well as Lucius; and these inscriptions have exactly the same relevance to the problem as one proving the equivalence of Λουκάς and Lucanus would have. The real argument for Lucius as against Lucanus as the formal name of the Evangelist is the frequency of the former and the rarity of the latter name in the Greek East at this period. Professor Deissmann finds unnecessary difficulty (p. 447) in the reading of the New Jersey goblet inscription, εὐφραίνου

ἐφ' ὃ πάρις (which its editor, Gisela M. A. Richter, translated, "Rejoice in that in which Paris rejoiced"; that is, in the beauty of women'). D. correctly connects this with the formula εὐφραίνου ἐφ' ὃ πάρι on a goblet in Wiegand's possession (p. 104); πάρις is for πάρις; the use of the Epic and Ionic form εἰς can be paralleled from Hellenistic inscriptions.

It may seem 'kleinlich' to insist on minor flaws in a book which has already established itself as the indispensable companion of students of 'New Testament Greek' in all lands; but the next edition is an event in which we are all interested, and in this edition Professor Deissmann's historical sense is sometimes displayed to less advantage than his delicate perception in matters of language and style.

In their public writings Aelius Aristides and Tertullian in the later second century are no less explicit on the subject of their religious belief than Julian and Basil in the later fourth. But if we knew the two former only from their tombstones, it is by no means certain that we should be able to distinguish them as a pagan and a Christian. Among the 'private' documents of the first three centuries the distinction between pagan and Christian authorship is notoriously difficult to draw. After Constantine's legalisation of Christianity in A.D. 312, open profession of Christianity became both safe and fashionable. Prior to A.D. 312 the average unheroic Christian had perforce to declare his faith, if he declared it at all, in cryptic language or through a secret symbolism. The Christian epigraphist has long been familiar with this characteristic of the earliest Christian epitaphs. But tombstones were set up for all to read; and the epigraphist might reasonably approach a collection of Christian private letters in the expectation that their very privacy would encourage greater freedom of profession. A perusal of Ghedini's most welcome little book will undeceive him. The 'privacy' of private letters varies from society to society and from government to government. It is clear from the documents collected in this book that

the average Christian of the second and third centuries took no greater risks in his private correspondence than he took in erecting the family gravestone. Further, Christians and pagans lived in the same society, shared a common fund of ideas and interests, inherited the same literary and artistic forms. In the 'private' documents of the fourth century a distinctive Christian phraseology has been developed, and presently becomes stereotyped. In the earlier period we find in the Christian letters the same subtle and guarded deviations from pagan phraseology as we find in the inscriptions, the same growing preference for Biblical or significant names, the same avoidance of language in any way associated with pagan religious ideas. Working on the same kind of material as the epigraphist, the 'Christian papyrologist' uses tools similar to those forged by De Rossi, and his results show the same progression from tentativeness and probability in the later second century to certainty in the later third.

It is not without significance that Ghedini's bibliography contains no reference to the work of De Rossi, Le Blant, and Ramsay, or even to Lefebvre's collection of the Christian Greek inscriptions of Egypt. He has in fact omitted, in an otherwise admirable treatise, to lay sufficient emphasis on the important historical conclusions to which, by converging paths in neighbouring fields, papyrological and epigraphical studies lead. His book contains the text of forty-four Egyptian Greek letters, most of them certainly, and all of them probably, Christian, and ranging in date from the end of the second century to the beginning of the fifth, with introduction, translations, notes, and indices. The introduction illustrates, by statistical comparison of pagan and Christian letters at different periods, the rapid spread of Christianity in Egypt, and discusses the bearing of the Christian letters on Christian terminology, organisation, and ethics. The

notes are judicious, and the indices full and varied. The book rests on a wide knowledge of the work of non-Latin scholars, British as well as German, on papyrology and Hellenistic grammar. While the author's interests are mainly linguistic, the real interest of this collection of early Christian letters is historical rather than linguistic. Ghedini's book ought to be translated into English, where it would find suitable philological companionship in Milligan's *Selections from the Papyri*, and would represent Italian scholarship in the Early Christian field more worthily than Marucchi's very parochial *Manual of Christian Epigraphy*.

Without such preliminary studies as that of Dr. Exler on the *Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, such works as the two noticed above could not be written. This Dissertation for the Doctorate of the Catholic University of America consists of an examination of all the Egyptian Greek letters contained in the principal collections of papyri, in respect of their opening formulae, closing formulae, and some of the conventional phrases used in the body of the letter, such as the type, 'I write you these few lines to let you know that I am well, hoping you are the same,' the illiteracy formula, and the oath formula. These formulae are classified according to date (with a sub-classification in the case of the opening formulae, according as they occur in familiar letters, business letters, petitions or official letters); and the author is able to exhibit the period of currency of each variety, from the third century B.C. to the third and fourth century A.D., and to bring out clearly subtle changes in epistolary fashion. There is also a section on the dating of letters, and a handy index. It adds to the usefulness of the book that the formulae are quoted in full throughout. The printing and proof-reading are as creditable to the press as this very competent piece of work is to its author.

W. M. CALDER.

## TWO BOOKS ON PHILODEMUS.

*The Rhetorica of Philodemus.* Translation and Commentary by HARRY M. HUBBELL, Ph.D. (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. 23. Pp. 243-382.) New Haven, Connecticut, 1920. \$1.20.

*Philodemos : über die Gedichte, Vtes Buch : Griechischer Text mit Übersetzung und Erläuterungen.* Von CHRISTIAN JENSEN. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xii + 178. Berlin : Weidmann, 1923. 3s. 10d.

THE study of the Herculaneum Papyri has shown a strong tendency to become the monopoly of German scholars, though the Italians have never completely relaxed their hold of the treasure. The incursion of an American scholar into this field is therefore in itself a welcome novelty.

The title of Dr. Hubbell's work is doubly misleading. In the ordinary sense of the words, what he gives us is neither a translation nor a commentary. An introductory essay and bibliography are followed by an abridged paraphrase of the text of Philodemus' two works on Rhetoric as presented by Sudhaus in the three Teubner volumes. A good many alternative restorations and emendations are taken from periodical literature, and some new ones are suggested. Further, the order of the papyri, which were not arranged consecutively by Sudhaus, is rectified, and the order of fragments within each papyrus is frequently varied in accordance with the apparent demands of the argument. In this way the whole of Sudhaus' material is used (with the exception of passages deemed 'hopeless'), but much of it is very severely abbreviated, even where the restoration is certain and translation not particularly difficult. So much of the 'translation.' There is no systematic commentary, but there is a minimum of footnotes explanatory of the paraphrase, and there is a concluding Excursus on the Rhetorical controversies of the time.

The Rhetorical writings, though in some ways the most important (chiefly by their mere bulk), are by no means the most interesting of Philodemus' works. It is therefore a little unfortunate that Dr. Hubbell has treated

them with the idea chiefly of bringing out the line of argument followed. This is perhaps the least interesting thing about them, and it is also their most easily discovered feature. Dr. Hubbell says he hoped to make these writings 'more accessible to the general reader,' but can general readers in America be credited with an interest in ancient rhetoric so great that they value these obscure and verbose pages for their own sake? Even scholars, if they value them at all, value them chiefly for the sidelights thrown on Epicurean doctrine and terminology, or on the development of the Greek language. In these regions Dr. Hubbell's work gives little or no help. Hardly any other Epicurean text is even cited, and the reader of Philodemus who turns to this work when in difficulties with the Greek will nearly always find that he has hit on a passage in which the condensation is specially severe.

This work, therefore, though meritorious, is of very limited utility, and modesty should have prevented its author from saying of the work of that fine scholar, the late Siegfried Sudhaus, that its value is 'almost nullified by glaring faults in arrangement and presentation.' The faults of arrangement in Sudhaus' volumes are of course glaring—so glaring that no more intelligence is required to correct them than understanding to excuse them.

The *περὶ ποιημάτων* of Philodemus constitutes the second largest group of papyri in the remains of the Herculanean library. The Catalogues allot to it no fewer than seventeen papyrus numbers, and among these are some of the best preserved rolls. So far only half-hearted attempts have been made to reconstruct it. Hausrath's attempt on Book II. (*Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.*, 1889) was ill-conceived and faulty in execution. Its greatest success was that it provoked Gomperz to vindicate for Philodemus papyri 994 and 1676 and to publish restorations of large portions of these rolls (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 1891). In regard to the remainder of the surviving material

practically the only help available for the student is the published Naples and Oxford transcripts.

Professor Jensen of Kiel, a pupil of Sudhaus, already well known for admirable work in this field, published in 1919, through the Berlin Academy, a study called *Neoptolemos und Horaz*, containing a reconstruction of cols. 1-13 of pap. 1425, the most perfect of those not previously edited. The present work is a development of that study. The first half is a restoration with a translation of pap. 1425. The second half consists of three essays: 'Neoptolemos und Horaz' (reprinted with some alterations from the *Abhandlung* of 1919); (2) on the *Poetics* of the Stoic Ariston of Chios; (3) on the *Poetics* of Crates of Pergamum.

The reconstruction is carried out after the best recent examples. The Oxford and Naples transcripts are given in facsimile beside the editor's text, and a fourth column contains a German translation. Dr. Jensen is able to supplement the evidence of the transcripts by his own collation (not quite complete, we gather) of the original. As a result we have 38 columns of almost continuously intelligible prose.

A study of the explanatory matter confirms the value of this result. The first essay deals with frs. 1 and 2 and cols. 1-13 and shows that Philodemus is arguing against views which Horace

had advocated in his *Ars Poetica*, Horace's source being Neoptolemus of Parium. The second essay deals with the middle section (cols. 13, 28-21, 22), and shows that Philodemus is here combating Ariston of Chios, who was almost more a Cynic than a Stoic, and criticised poetry from a strictly moral or educational standpoint. The last essay examines the concluding section and attempts to reconstruct, mainly from the evidence afforded by Philodemus' not always intelligent criticisms, the literary theories of Crates of Pergamum, developing issues which promise to be of great importance for the history of ancient literary criticism.

The book as a whole is of the nature of an interim report by Professor Jensen on the progress of his great task of editing the *Poetics* of Philodemus. He begins here with Book V.; and apparently he intends to deal next with Book II. He seems to us to have laid in the present volume a firm foundation for his further work, and to have shown conclusively that the very laborious task which he has set himself is not only one that he is exceptionally well fitted to perform, but also one of great importance, which the learned world should assist and encourage in every possible way. We hope that the present troubles in Germany will not impede the continuation of a work so auspiciously begun.

J. L. STOCKS.

### THE LAW OF HOMICIDE IN GREECE.

*Poine.* A Study in Ancient Greek Blood-Vengeance. By HUBERT J. TRESTON, M.A., Professor of Classics, Cork. Pp. ix + 427. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923. £1 1s. net.

PROFESSOR TRESTON'S theory is that the Achæians allowed individual blood-revenge—i.e., the slaying of the slayer by the kin of the slain, without molestation of his innocent relatives. The Pelasgians, on the other hand, practised werewolf, and also believed in the 'Erinyes,' whose  $\pi$  the author persistently doubles. This was complicated still further in the seventh century by the coming of Apolline religion, which

brought with it the conception of impurity arising from manslaughter—a proposition which Professor Treston many times asserts, but, perhaps wisely, never tries to prove in detail. The final result was the laws of homicide prevailing in historical Greece, especially Athens.

The story of the effect of modern views of the State and its functions upon earlier ideas, religious and juristic (if, indeed, these can be separated), is a fascinating one when adequately treated. The introduction on the one hand of severer penalties by the suppression of the practice of werewolf, on the other of the concept of justifiable

or excusable homicide, by the passing or weakening of the magico-religious horror of shed blood, if competently studied within the Greek area by a jurist who was also anthropologist and historian, might make a book which the reader would find it as hard to lay down as the reviewer found it hard to finish this one. The unfortunate fact is that the author, though when in possession of the relevant data he sometimes reasons clearly, has nothing like the equipment necessary for his task.

An examination of his list of authors in the table of contents, supplemented (for the index is defective) by the references in his footnotes, brings this clearly before us. He has to examine the evidence of Homer; he apparently has never read Cauer, Drerup, Lang, van Leeuwen, or Scott. Greek religion necessarily enters largely into his argument; the omissions here include Eitrem, Farnell, Foucart, Frazer, Nillson, Roscher's *Lexikon*, Wide, and Wünsch. The works of Miss Harrison and one or two essays of Professor Murray are his staple, with Smith's excellent school dictionary of antiquities to supplement them, and one or two references to Daremberg-Saglio. Mythology is of course drawn upon, but without the guidance of Gruppe or Preller-Robert. In the department of Greek history and pre-history I have not succeeded in finding any use of Evans, the histories of Beloch and Busolt, or any of the works of Wilamowitz-Möllendorf. He does not seem aware that several people have studied the history of the family since the days of Maine; indeed, one is led to doubt (see especially p. 136) whether he realises that 'family,' 'clan,' and 'tribe' have quite distinct meanings. His ethnology is correspondingly light-hearted. Of 'Quellengeschichte' he is so innocent that he repeatedly quotes Pollux and the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* as if they were quite independent authorities. And in his own subject of the history

of Greek law, it is strange that he mentions neither Hirzel nor Ehrenberg.

To give a full account of his defects, from gross misunderstandings and groundless assumptions down to misaccentuations and other evidences of imperfect scholarship, would fill a number of the *Classical Review*. I give merely a sample apiece of his handling of Greek material and of the Latin authors to whom he sometimes resorts for parallels:

P. 161, after quoting the scholiast on Plato, *Laws* 865 (ὁ ἐκ Δελφῶν κομισθεὶς νόμος ἤγουν χρησμός ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκοντος ἀνελόντος τὸν φίλον) he renders, 'The law or oracle brought from Delphi regarding a man who kills his friend (i.e., fellow-citizen as distinct from a public enemy) involuntarily.' It is almost incredible that he should never have heard of the famous tale (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* III. 44), yet such appears to be the case. The particular pilgrim who on a particular occasion killed his fellow vanishes, and in his place comes the John Doe or Richard Roe of a general law.

P. 236: 'Even in Rome the State could interfere' (with the workings of *patria potestas*), 'since we find that a Decemvir ordered the arrest and imprisonment of a certain Virginus who had slain his daughter.' If he will look in Livy again he will find that Appius Claudius had just decided (wrongfully, but legally) that Verginia was not the daughter of Verginius, but the *ancilla* of his own client, who therefore alone had *potestas* over her.

I have noted scores of other blunders as bad. One makes allowance for the difficulties of a student, perhaps short of books, certainly in a disturbed country; but even from Cork, are London, Paris, and Oxford inaccessible places? That such a book should have been completed, and apparently submitted to and approved by one or two colleagues, gives an unpleasing idea of the state of letters in Ireland.

H. J. ROSE.



## DIELS'S LUCRETIUS.

*T. Lucretius Carus, De Rerum Natura, Lateinisch und Deutsch.* Von HERMANN DIELS, Band I. One Vol. 8vo. Pp. xliv + 410. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923. 9s. 8d.

HERMANN DIELS died on June 4, 1922. He left a written request that his text of Lucretius, which was then printed up to the end of the Fourth Book, should be completed by his friend and pupil, J. Mewaldt. This pious work has been conscientiously performed.

The volume contains a critical introduction, *testimonia*, the text of the whole poem, and an *apparatus* giving very full details of the primary sources of the text. Diels also made a German prose translation; but this seems not to have been published as yet. The last sentence of the introduction apparently implies that there was also a complete commentary, but that Diels despaired of getting it published under present conditions.

Diels spared no pains to make himself acquainted with the sources of the text. Four of these he sets apart, and denies that the Italian MSS. have any independent authority. He studied O and Q in the facsimiles; he procured photographs of G and V from Copenhagen and Vienna. All these authorities are attributed by him to the ninth century. His report of the Vienna *schedae*, in particular, is fuller than any hitherto published. Diels believes that an archetype of the fourth century was copied, possibly at York, in an insular hand, in the seventh century, and that the latter is the source of all the existing MSS.

Diels felt strongly that Lucretius, whom he placed high among poets, was a lover of antiquity and contemptuous of the refinements which contemporary writers were seeking to introduce. Hence he argues that the editors have wronged their author by seeking to polish him up and smooth him down, and that traces of ancient or inconsistent spellings, preserved in the excellent MSS., should be scrupulously retained (*mordicus esse tenenda*). He has done this himself: so l. 205 begins *nihil igitur fieri*, the assumption being

that Lucretius used different spellings of the same word and did not always spell as he pronounced. Diels, of course, retains *-is* of the nom. pl. (cf. Munro on l. 808), and many other spellings which have generally been discarded.

It is well known that the *tituli* of O are of importance for the text: it is strange that they are nowhere to be found in Munro. Here each of them is printed in red (which is used a good deal throughout the volume) wherever O has it. Another novelty is the printing of final *s* where it is elided: *omnibus rebus* here takes the place of the *omnibu' rebus* with which we are familiar. Except for children, the sign of elision is surely needless.

When we turn from general principles to particular problems of the text, it is disappointing to find that Diels does not do much to solve them. Four examples from the First Book may be cited.

(i.) The MSS. give *cortus* at the end of l. 271 and *pontus* at the end of 276: most editors read *pontum* in the former line and *uentus* in the latter. Diels supposes that the words have changed places: he reads *pontum* in 271 and *cortus* (i.e., *coortus*) in 276, justifying the contraction by *copernisse* in V. 342. This is ingenious; but it does not satisfy: one feels that *coortus* is not wanted here, and that Markland's *uentus* is beyond question the missing word in 276. But proof is impossible.

(ii.) The MSS. give l. 321 as: *inuida praeclusit speciem natura uidendi*, where *speciem* is difficult and many substitutes have been conjectured. Diels prints *aciem*. But, even if this is metrically possible in Lucretius, how is it easier to explain than *speciem*?

(iii.) There is a famous difficulty in l. 469: *namque aliud terris, aliud regionibus ipsis | euentum dici poterit . . .*

Diels writes: '*terrast templaui*.' But such a novelty cries aloud for explanation: it is not even clear whether his *terra* is nom. or abl. Here, and elsewhere, the prose translation might be useful.

(iv.) In l. 657 Diel prints *Musae* at the end of the line. He does not refer

to Ernout, who was the first modern editor to print what is practically the reading of *O (muse)*. I have indicated elsewhere the obstacles against accepting this interpretation, and shall here quote Lachmann's note *ad loc.*: 'Brixienensis editio *Musae*, quo nomine Heracliti librum a quibusdam ueterum appellatum esse nullus interpretum

recordatus est, quod miror.' Lachmann resisted the temptation, and so did Munro.

Future editors of Lucretius will certainly have to take this book into account; but I do not find that it adds much to Diels's high and deserved reputation.

J. D. DUFF.

## ROMAN POLITICS AND GREEK CIVILISATION.

*Roman Politics: Our Debt to Greece and Rome.* By FRANK FROST ABBOTT. 7½" × 5". Pp. vi + 177. London, Calcutta, Sydney: Harrap and Co. 5s.  
*Greek Life and Thought: A Portrayal of Greek Civilisation.* By LA RUE VAN HOOK, Ph.D. 9" × 5½". Pp. xiv + 329, 46 illustrations. New York: Columbia University Press, 1923.

UNDER his ambitious title Professor van Hook has attempted to write at once a compendium of information about Greek life, literature, art, and politics upon a small scale, and at the same time to present a popular account of Greek civilisation for the benefit of the general public. The two aims are incompatible. The second implies an artistic presentation, the essential of which is selection. As a conscientious compilation of information, which is, however, readily accessible in existing handbooks, the book is not destitute of merit, but it betrays no distinction either of thought or style.

Professor Abbott, on the other hand, has the knowledge and the courage to select and generalise, and he possesses the gift of terse, clear, and attractive exposition. The result is a vigorous and interesting little essay, which is very much alive. It is possible that without some knowledge of Roman history the general reader may find some of it difficult to follow, and whether what he learns from it will invariably be 'right opinion' may perhaps be questionable. But it is certainly the kind of book—an invaluable kind—which will arouse the interest and mental activity of students, though for teaching purposes it may need supplement by amplification and possibly by criticism.

For instance, was Rome ever in any real sense governed by a democracy (pp. 1 and 52)? Again, while it may be an exaggeration to assert that the idea of the representative principle was unknown to the Romans, does not the impression conveyed by Professor Abbott give a wrong notion of its practical importance in Roman politics? On p. 13 slavery upon an industrial scale is accepted as a condition of pre-Licinian agriculture. In contrasting the character of provincial governors under the Empire with that of their predecessors, something should have been said about the senatorial career. The impression which, I think, would be conveyed by the text to a reader ignorant of the facts would be that Augustus chose governors 'on the score of honesty and fitness' (p. 34), in the same way that I understand the President of the U.S.A. chooses ambassadors—i.e., without necessary reference to any previous professional training. On p. 90 the implication of the statement that the Roman magistrate was better aware of the trend of popular sentiment than the average prime minister, and could therefore be 'confidently expected to advocate progress or change,' if it had not been for his *consilium*, appears somewhat questionable. The topic of the *consilium* might well have been elaborated a little more in detail. It might, for instance, have been pointed out that the Imperial Privy Council—though the analogy was, of course, irresistible—had its origin not in what was technically a *consilium* of a magistrate, but in an informal meeting of 'the friends of Caesar.' The reason was that Augustus was not technically a magistrate. This

essential anomaly of the emperor's position might perhaps have been given greater prominence; on the other hand more factual importance, if I may so express it, is ascribed to the Dyarchy than I should personally allow to it.

There are some interesting side-lights upon the American constitution. Apparently in the U.S.A. there exist modern advocates of the exercise of popular sovereignty through 'the recall' of the magistrate upon the lines of Tiberius Gracchus *v.* Octavius.

There are some interesting, but all too brief, notes upon the continuity of Roman political ideas through the Middle Ages. 'Our Debt' is sometimes a little overstated. It is hard upon Aristotle to inform the general public (p. 54) that Cicero 'introduces the modern method of studying the organi-

sation of actual states,' not Utopias, as the basis of political theory. I am doubtful too whether the deliberate archaism of history applied to nationalist propaganda in Rumania or among the Fascisti can be regarded by the cold-blooded student of history as the product of a continuous legacy from ancient Rome.

Unlike Professor van Hook, whose bibliography, without a word of guidance or differentiation, recommends, for instance, Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete*, and Blegen, *Korakou*, cheek by jowl to the inquiring general reader, Professor Abbott gives an admirably select list of useful books. Its brevity is its virtue; but perhaps room might be found in it for Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, in Section III., and Heitland, *Agricola*, in Section IV.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

#### WHITTAKER'S MACROBIUS.

*Macrobius, or Philosophy, Science, and Letters in the Year 400.* By THOMAS WHITTAKER. Pp. 101. Cambridge University Press, 1923. 6s. 6d. net, cloth.

OF Macrobius the general reader has hitherto possessed no satisfactory account in English. For writing such an account Mr. Whittaker has two important qualifications—enthusiasm for his author and considerable knowledge of the original texts of Neoplatonism. The former has led him to over-value Macrobius' abilities considerably. Macrobius is a simple compiler who invariably suppresses any mention of his actual authority (*cf.* Wissowa *de Macrobiani Saturnaliorum fontibus*: Diss. Breslau, 1880; ch. i.): when he copies Gellius, he mentions neither Gellius nor Gellius' source, though the latter is regularly named in the *Noctes Atticae*. For this reason I should be inclined to support Wissowa's view, that Iamblichus is the source of *Sat.* i. 17-23, against recent criticism such as that mentioned by Whittaker, p. 18, and by Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, p. 267. Porphyry is there quoted by name (17. 70); accordingly, it is unlikely that Macrobius used him or any direct Latin copy.

It may seem pedantic to point out errors of detail in a book apparently destined for the general reader, but the following corrections must be made. On p. 9 it should be stated that the *Asclepius* is a simple translation from the Greek (*cf.* Schwabe in *Pauly-Wissowa* II. 257; Kroll, *ib.* VIII. 796). On p. 20 it should be mentioned that Iamblichus defended sacrifice, as *de mysteriis* VI. ch. 3 (*cf.* V. ch. 1), and that Julian and Sallustius followed his lead. The discussion of the Sun's predominance (p. 21) misses the religious significance entirely; that has been brilliantly explained by Cumont in *La Théologie solaire du Paganisme romain* (*Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des Inscr.*, XII. p. 447.) The remarks about the oracle given at Claros (p. 24) ignore the important work of Buresch and others, conveniently summarised by Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, p. 715. The observation that 'Emperor-worship was never serious for religion in Europe' (p. 36) is surprising. This Emperor-worship was the religious symbol of the unity of the Empire, and introduced to the West the conception of the divinity that hedges a king. Its survivals in Byzantine court-ceremonial and in official phraseology are obvious. I pass over

certain remarks on Homer (p. 45). On p. 58 there should be a reference to Julian's *Oratio in Cynicum Heraculum*. 215 B. Lastly, in a view of a footnote on p. 96 it must be stated that there is *no* possibility that 'the historical

Longinus wrote the treatise *On the Sublime*': Rhys Roberts' preface dismisses that hypothesis finally.

This book is well printed and attractively produced, and should interest the general reader. A. D. NOCK.

### THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE.

*Our Hellenic Heritage*. By H. R. JAMES, M.A. Vol. II., Part III: Athens—her Splendour and her Fall. Pp. vi + 288. Macmillan, 1922. 4s. 6d.

THIS, the second volume of Mr. James's work, is well up to the level of the first. The author, with rare lapses, writes clearly and vigorously and with an enthusiasm for his subject which must always be an engaging quality when the subject is Athens. He is to the best of my observation, very accurate. He has on the whole well succeeded in combining the quarrelsome virtues of lucidity and conciseness. All this goes to make an excellent book for its purpose, which is not to instruct the learned. Not the least of the author's merits is the general soundness of his historical judgments; he wisely follows Thucydides and such modern English authorities as have most closely followed Thucydides, and does not deal in what the conservative-minded call 'theories.'

Still he might have mentioned at least one. Everybody will recognise the necessity under which Mr. James lay of disengaging from his book disputed points which could only perplex the beginner. But even the beginner ought to know something more than Mr. James tells him of the economic factor in the Peloponnesian War—a factor certainly of great importance, although personally I should be disposed to agree that Mr. Cornford and Mr. Grundy have overestimated it. Even in his bibliography (which of course does not profess to be exhaustive) Mr. James does not mention *Thu-*

*cydides Mythistoricus* or *Thucydides and his Age*. Again, it seems a pity that, in drawing so much from writers like Bury and Zimmern, he omits to mention, what they themselves have always frankly admitted, a considerable debt to German scholars like Wilamowitz and Eduard Meyer. It is not a question of originality—Bury and Zimmern are both original men—but of fair play.

If, as seems probable enough, the book should reach a second edition, the author may correct the error or misprint of *Bendidaea* on p. 100, of *lay* on p. 220, of *Dickenson* on p. 269. It does not appear at all necessary to suppose that the mass of iron sunk in the sea by the Ionians was 'hot' (p. 29). And among the legends connected with Thebes Mr. James has forgotten the story of Heracles. I wish he would not use the word 'morale' in the sense of the French *moral*, even if everybody does it. 'Another aspect of the transformation of the Athenian confederacy into an Athenian dominion was the judicial' (p. 56) is a good example of how not to write; and I do not know that the statement which follows, that the 'Athenian citizens acquired a remarkable judicial competency' is much better. At the foot of p. 60 and the top of 61 there is a rather eloquent, but vexatiously confusing, if not confused, sentence. These things can be easily changed.

The book is pleasant to handle and easy to read; the illustrations, especially of Athens, are excellent.

J. A. K. THOMSON.

## LATIN WORD-ORDER.

*L'Ordre des Mots dans la Phrase latine :*

I. *Les Groupes nominaux.* Par J.

MAROUZEAU. Pp. viii + 236. Paris :

E. Champion, 1922. Fr. 30.

IN this valuable contribution to a subject which until recently was less studied than its importance and the interest shown in it by ancient rhetoricians merited, M. Marouzeau wins the reader's good will by writing not only a learned but a readable monograph, at least proving that he has learned what style is before setting out to discuss a delicate point in its technique. He confines himself for the present to the group formed by a substantive and an adjective, adjectival genitive, participle, or the like; the other parts of speech will doubtless be discussed in his second volume. His results are briefly as follows: All such groups have a normal order, sometimes adjective-substantive, as is generally the case with what he calls qualificative adjectives (*magnus uir, summa constantia, aequo animo*, and many others), sometimes substantive-adjective, as is usually the case with determinatives (*homo Romanus, lingua Latina, uia militaris*). From this order it is possible to depart in two ways, firstly by inversion (*Romana lingua*), secondly by disjunction (*modus agri non ita magnus*), besides the combination of these methods. Such an alteration is very rarely indifferent. To take one or two of his simplest examples: *lingua Romana* means much the same as *lingua Latina*; but *Romana lingua* means 'the dialect of Rome,' as opposed to the country speech; *cohors una* is 'a cohort,' *una cohors* 'a single cohort.' *Mirificus homo* is a stale compliment; but Cicero, by inversion and disjunction, makes it a sincere bit of praise and the worn-out *mirificus casus* into a forcible expression of surprise: *uoramus litteras cum homine mirifico (ita mehercule sentio) Dionysio* (Att. IV. 11. 2):

*casus uero mirificus quidam interuenit* (Fam. VII. 5. 2).

There can be little doubt that the method is sound as far as it goes, given one of M. Marouzeau's learning and taste to handle it. Whether it is adequate in all cases is another question. He defines a group (p. 6) in no hesitating terms: *le groupe est défini essentiellement par l'appartenance syntaxique*. To this he clings throughout, paying little attention to the other group, that which exists for the ear. In the view of the reviewer, there are passages where this method fails him. Thus, Cicero, *de orat.* I. 231: *imitatus est homo Romanus et consularis ueterem illum Socratem*. The author would presumably agree that *ueterem* is emphatic by disjunction; but surely *Romanus* and *consularis* are also emphatic; yet it is hard to see how they can be on his principles, for *homo Romanus* is the common order, *homo* (or more usually *uir*) *consularis* is equally so. But if we neglect his syntactical group and take the rhetorical ones, so to call them—i.e., the two commata into which the rhythm *-manus et consularis* (V 3) divides the period—we have the clearest possible arrangement. It is a pretty chiasmus, *imitatus est . . . Socratem : Romanus et consularis ueterem*. The two outer terms give us the main proposition, the inner ones the comment. 'He must needs ape Sokrates; he, a modern and a man of practical experience, playing at being a character out of ancient history!' Against this it would not be hard to put cases of emphatic words shown to be emphatic by M. Marouzeau's methods, where the observation of purely rhetorical groups would tell us little or nothing. Probably the true method is to combine both. Meanwhile, all interested in style, not simply those who study Latin, would do well to read this treatise.

H. J. ROSE.

## FOWLER'S ROMAN LITERATURE.

*A History of Roman Literature.* By HAROLD N. FOWLER, Ph.D., Professor in the College for Women of Western Reserve University. Pp. x+316; frontispiece and three other illustrations. New York: The Macmillan Company. Second edition, 1923. 14s.

THE preface to the second edition of Professor Fowler's *History of Roman Literature* up to the fifth century says it is 'little more than a reprint of the first edition,' i.e. of 1903. Minor corrections have been made, and the main alteration claimed is in the bibliography. But that is only in some measure brought up to date; for it would be easy to point out omissions of important English and French works from the list of the histories of literature, while in the list of texts, even though it does not aim at being exhaustive, it is surprising to find Caesar without Rice Holmes, Cicero without the *Oxford Classical Texts*, Calpurnius Siculus without Keene, Lucan without Haskins and Heitland, Juvenal without Mayor, and Martial without Friedländer.

The author bases his work on Teuffel, Schanz, and Dr. Mackail, and has designed it 'for use as a text-book,' giving extracts almost entirely in English, because 'Latin would probably not be read by most young readers,' and, if wanted, 'the texts of the most important works are sure to be at hand in the schools.' Although this prevailing absence of Latin makes it difficult to convey at second hand the aesthetic value of the authors, still the method is calculated to lead junior students towards a wider study of the originals, and also, it is to be hoped, to interest the ordinary reader in the sequence of Roman thought.

Of Latin writers during some seven centuries and a half the volume furnishes a competent general account, conveying criticisms which are just and sane rather than inspiring. Noticeably telling and adequate sections are those on Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus. A helpful chronological table and an index are added. The illustrative extracts are either from well-known translations or

by the author. Some of the translators are more happily chosen than others: it sounds, for instance, a particularly far cry from the spirit of the *Aeneid* to the semi-balladic verse of Conington, which wakes, unsuitably for most Virgilian moods, inevitable echoes of Scott. The English hexameter given on p. 41—

'He was the elder by birth; not all of us all things can compass'—

rings too heavy to justify the claim that the rhythm of the Latin, even if only from Lucilius (*maior erat natu: non omnia possumus omnes*), 'is retained in this translation.' Professor Fowler explains that he does not discuss the dramatic *satura* because—perhaps too summarily on a question still under debate—he takes it for proved that it never existed save as an invention in Roman literary history to correspond to the alleged origin of Greek comedy in the satyr-drama. As regards tragedy, a reader might puzzle over the disconnected statements on p. 12 that 'Cicero considered Pacuvius the greatest Roman tragic writer,' and, later, that 'the last important writer of tragedies, and probably the greatest of all, was L. Accius.'

The many judgements involved in a critical history of literature must give rise to differences of opinion. On some points I find myself at variance with Professor Fowler. When he ascribes to Maecenas 'fine literary taste . . . without talent,' I should like to modify the remark in so far as it concerns Maecenas' own attempts, which, as recorded by Seneca in one of his *Epistulae Morales*, suggest talent of a perverted sort rather than over-fine taste. Quite properly, on the other hand, Professor Fowler indicates Maecenas' service to literature as an appreciative patron of Virgil and Horace. The assertion (p. 100) that the 'only teacher whose influence (on Virgil) seems to have been lasting was the Epicurean philosopher Siro' conveys no suggestion of the presence of Stoic thought in the *Aeneid*. Again, I incline to plead for a somewhat more generous estimate of Vitruvius than that

he 'was evidently a man of no great literary education' (p. 168); for he at least advocated a wide training in liberal culture for architects. On p. 195 the chronological position of Tacitus is misleadingly stated, inasmuch as he is there, by implication, included among writers of the Flavian period, although in practice the treatment of Tacitus is correctly reserved for the reigns of Trajan. Of the *Ilias Latina*, while it is in a limited sense true to say (p. 198) that it 'is attributed to the earlier years of Silius Italicus,' a statement should be added that the attribution rests on an acrostic dependent upon textual alterations which some scholars do not accept.

Certain definite errors ought to be corrected in any future edition. It is erroneous to say of Cicero (p. 82) that 'in 50 B.C., after Pompey's flight from Italy, he exposed himself to Caesar's displeasure'; for Pompey did not leave Italy till March 49 B.C., and the letter cited in support (*Ad Att.* IX. 18) belongs to the end of that month. The voyage

of Germanicus on which Albinovanus Pedo wrote a poem took place in 16 A.D., not 16 B.C. as stated on p. 137; and the 'murder of Germanicus in 55 A.D.' (p. 178) must be meant for the murder of Britannicus. Professor Fowler is not alone in alleging that the longer parts of Petronius are 'exclusively in prose' (p. 189); but it ought to be remembered that even Trimalchio at his dinner-table breaks into verse. The name 'Herennius Priscus,' given (p. 213) as one of two eminent Stoics put to death under Domitian, looks like a cross between 'Herennius Senecio' and the subject of his eulogy, 'Helvidius Priscus.' Anyhow, this figure reappears in the Index. In the bibliography 'Gratius' occurs for 'Grattius' of the text and the Index, 'Phillemore' twice for 'Phillimore,' and 'Kerr' for 'Ker.' And—if a non-American may put the question—was it not 'The University of Pennsylvania' that issued Fairley's edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*?

J. WIGHT DUFF.

*Antike Gewichtsnormen und Münzfüsse.* By OSKAR VIEDEBANTT. Pp. vii+166. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923. 2s. 5d. METROLOGY is of all branches of classical study perhaps the least productive. Hultsch and Brandis were responsible for a multitude of theories which Lehmann-Haupt and others have elaborated into a structure based upon conjecture after conjecture. It is this structure which Viedebantt sets out to replace by one founded on facts rather than fancies.

The author's opponents, deriving all ancient weight-systems from Mesopotamia, had worked out a scheme so elaborate as to baffle an assessor of income-tax. Starting from a known Babylonian talent they had conjectured five additional derivative talents, and supposed each of these six forms to have been employed, either unaugmented or increased by  $\frac{1}{20}$ th,  $\frac{1}{24}$ th, or  $\frac{1}{32}$ th. Thus there were invented twenty-four possible different talents, twenty-four minae, twenty-four shekels, and unto these were added augmentations in the second degree. Along such lines any 'standard' can be constructed and any coin fitted into a system, while it is evident that no merchant, Phoenician or Greek, could have coped with such complications.

Unfortunately these absurdities which Viedebantt has swept away still loom large in such authoritative works as Head's *Historia Numorum* and Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* (Suppl. Bd. III., article *Gewichte*).

On the constructive side Viedebantt produces

evidence, monumental and literary, for five systems of independent origin: the Babylonian standard, which the Persians took over; the Lydian-Anatolian, from which he would derive the Attic-Euboic; the Egyptian *Deben* system, whence came the standard of Palestine; the South Italian system, based on the Sicilian litra; and the North Italian, perhaps imported by the Gauls.

There is a good deal that we miss. While the theories of Lehmann-Haupt and Haeberlin are pilloried, often with humour (a rare thing in Metrology), there is no reference to Ridgeway's valuable work—though thirty years have elapsed since he criticised the same absurdities—nor to Evans' article on *Minoan Weights and Currency* (*Corolla Numismatica*, p. 336). The Pheidonian system is barely mentioned, and the Homeric gold talent not at all. The treatment (p. 35) of the tenth chapter of Aristotle's *Ἀθ. πολ.* is hardly satisfactory, but Viedebantt's discussion of Hdt. III. 89-95 is the most valuable contribution yet made towards the solution of a much debated problem.

Not a little of his work is destructive; inevitably, since the ground must first be cleared of encumbrances; but the book is admirable for its scholarship and commonsense. Metrology stands in need of more such work.

C. T. SELTMAN.

*Index Verborum C. Suetoni Tranquilli stilique eius proprietatum nonnullarum.* Confecerunt Albertus Andreas Howard, Carolus Newell Jackson. Cantabrigiae Massachusettensium e typographeo Academiae Harvardianae. . . . MDCCCXXII.

THIS useful book is published in this country by Humphrey Milford, price 21s. Scholars owe a debt of gratitude for it to the learned editors and to Mrs. Howard, whose name figures in the dedication. The method followed is this: Words found in express quotation from other authors are distinguished by a sloped numeral in the reference; where a quotation is in *oratio obliqua*, the words are credited to Suetonius. One might raise a theoretical objection: e.g. in *Vit. Terenti* (3) there is not much reason to doubt that the words *temperius discumberet* belong to Laelius' wife, and *successisse* to Laelius himself. But anybody that uses the book for purposes of analysing Suetonian diction can easily take care of himself, and the primary use of all such indices, a handy and complete repertory for tracing any passage of which one can recollect a single word, is not affected. Greek words are included, and a list of Greek phrases and quotations in Suetonius is added at the end. The book is excellently printed, and the price, as things go, very moderate. Altogether a valuable addition to a scholar's tools.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

*Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones: latine vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebii Hieronymus.* Edidit I. K. FOTHERINGHAM. Pp. xl+352. London: Milford, 1923. 48s. net.

STUDENTS of the lives of Latin authors know that the *Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle* is one of the ancient authorities for the facts about them, but few classical students have handled the work itself. It has not as a matter of fact been readily accessible, and until the edition by Helm was published in 1913, no satisfactory text was available. The manuscript tradition is rich, and in the Bodleian MS. *Auct. T. II. 26* we have an authority belonging to the fifth century, the evidence of which was curiously overlooked until recent times, though it has been in the possession of the Bodleian Library for a century. The complete collotype facsimile of that manuscript, issued by the Clarendon Press under Dr. Fotheringham's editorship in 1905, was a great boon, and naturally led to the preparation of an edition by the same editor. He has since then made a complete study of the other old manuscripts, fifteen in number, and the result is now available in an edition which will satisfy all demands.

The reader will not find here the fragments of Eusebius's Greek, nor the readings of the Armenian translation, which were recently made accessible in German, nor a detailed discussion of the sources on which either the original or Jerome's translation is based.<sup>1</sup> These it would

be unreasonable to expect in a work of limited compass. But he has given us a masterly edition of the *Jerome Chronicle* itself, equipped with a luxurious double apparatus, one for numbers, the other for words. A long Latin preface describes the manuscripts and their interrelations. Particular attention has been paid to the original form of the *Chronicle* as Jerome prepared it, a form which has been depraved in the later manuscripts. Jerome used larger uncials for some passages, and red ink for other passages, as distinguished from the prevailing script of the archetype. These Dr. Fotheringham has imitated, with this difference that the red passages of the manuscripts are represented here in thick black type.

Dr. Fotheringham's judgment in constituting the text may be relied on nearly always. Sometimes I venture to think he has wrongly deserted the Bodleian MS., or preferred the wrong spelling. For example *serapim*, as the proper Greek form, should be read on p. 33, l. 8. rather than the Latin and (less ancient) Greek form *serapim* (cf. p. 41, l. 9); *zmyrna* rather than *smyrna* (p. 121); *tarsensis* rather than the much commoner but less correct *tharsensis* (p. 252: cf. p. 141); *epistulas* (with OF) rather than *epistolae* (p. 218, l. 15); *christi* rather than *Christi* (pp. 242, l. 16; 243, l. 1), as it is wrongly abbreviated in the MSS.; *patauii* rather than *pataui* (p. 253, l. 23), as rightly *brundisii* (p. 247, l. 23);<sup>2</sup> *pathmum* (with OL) rather than the degenerate *pathmum* (p. 274, l. 3). As it appears from other works of Jerome that he had a decided preference for the (otherwise comparatively rare) form *moses* rather than *moyses*, and as there is generally some evidence for the form *moses* in manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, it would, I think, have been sound criticism to print *moses* everywhere. The 'index nominum' at the end of the book will enable the reader to trace most items in which he is interested, but a cross reference from the usual form (Irenaeus), in a case like 'Hireneus', would have been helpful. As it is, wrong conclusions might be drawn from the editor's (apparent) silence. An index of the rarer words used in the narrative might have been profitably added at no great cost of space.

The book ought to receive a rapturous welcome from Latin scholars. The apparatus contains abundance of valuable material for a new, and much needed, lexicon of Latin orthography.<sup>3</sup>

A. SOUTER.

7-11) and Tertullian *Apology*, chap. V., was pointed out by Vallarsi long ago, but I am not aware that anyone has shown that Jerome's words here are the *ipsissima verba* of Tertullian, and are therefore due to himself, not to Eusebius (contrast the latter's *Hist. Eccl.* V. 5 § 6).

<sup>2</sup> It is not as well known as it ought to be that whereas single *i* is in such cases the correct form of the genitive, double *i* is the correct form of the locative (see *Thesaurus*, s.v. *Brundisium*).

<sup>3</sup> The form *guilosom* is cited from manuscript D on p. 285. This MS., now *Paris B.N. lat.* 4860, was written at Mayence between 939 and 954. Mommsen argued that the archetype of

<sup>1</sup> The likeness between the passage under the 238th Olympiad (Fotheringham, p. 289, lines



*Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis*, being the New Testament Quotations in the Old-Latin version of the ΕΛΕΓΧΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΤΡΟΠΗ ΨΕΥΔΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΓΝΩΣΤΕΩΣ, edited by the late WILLIAM SANDAY and CUTHBERT HAMILTON TURNER, etc. Pp. clxxxviii + 311, with collotype of one page of the Claromontane MS. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. 48s. net.

IRENAEUS, bishop of Lyons, composed a number of works in his native language, which was Greek, in the period about A.D. 185. Of these the most important was a long treatise in five books, designed to refute certain Gnostic heresies of the time. Its significance for the Biblical student lies in the fact that he quoted largely and carefully both from the Old and the New Testament in Greek. No manuscript of Irenaeus in the original Greek has survived except a short fragment found at Oxyrhynchus. Considerable portions of it, however, are quoted in later authors such as Epiphanius the Cyprian, who wrote towards the close of the fourth century. The quotations thus made belong for the most part, alas! to those sections of the original where Biblical quotations are fewest.

But though the Greek tradition is so meagre and unsatisfactory, there have survived a careful Latin version of the whole work, and an Armenian translation of the fourth and fifth books. The Latin version is first quoted in one of the later works of St. Augustine (about 420), but the question of its actual date is one of some difficulty. The Armenian appears to belong to the fifth century. The fashionable view down to the publication of Westcott and Hort's Greek New Testament held that the Latin translation was almost as old as the original work, seeing that Tertullian apparently made use of it. Hort, however, in a memoir which finds a place in the Sanday-Turner volume, argued forcibly against this view, and assigned this translation to the fourth century. It is obviously a matter of great importance to date the Latin translation as exactly as possible, and this can only be done by a philological argument such as that employed by the writer in the introduction to the present work.<sup>1</sup>

The work has been so long in progress that there has been time for various important accessions to our knowledge to emerge. This fact has told somewhat on the form of the book. For instance, the Armenian version referred to was not discovered till the great bulk of the sheets had been printed off. The whole of the necessary information is to be found in this book, most laboriously and exactly recorded, but the reader may find it necessary to make cross-references for himself. Professor Turner

deserves high commendation for the editorial qualities he has lavished on the book.

A. SOUTER.

*Euripidis Hypsipyla cum notis criticis et exegeticis*. Ed. G. ITALIE. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xii + 80. Berlin: E. Ebering, 1923.

THIS dissertation, which contains (i.) a Latin introduction dealing summarily with the palaeography of *P. Oxy.* VI. 852, the form of the *Hypsipyle* story followed by Euripides, the date of the play and its modern bibliography; (ii.) the text of the chief fragments, accompanied by critical and exegetical notes; and (iii.) three Latin excursuses concerning the prologue, the rôles of Euneus and Thoas, and the problems connected with a line on p. 50 (64 ii. 93), is a useful résumé of the work done on the *Hypsipyle*, to which it adds something of its own. But it is clear that, apart from the discovery of new material, the only prospect of advancing from hypotheses to certainties now lies in a renewed intensive examination of the papyrus with a view to combining more of the unplaced fragments and determining their positions in the roll. This will be a tedious and may be an unprofitable business, and the editor has not undertaken it. Yet that something may yet remain to be done is made probable by the facts that Professor Hunt in his second edition succeeded in placing fragments 5 and 65, that Petersen's identification of *P. Petr.* II. 49C made it possible to assign fr. 22 to its proper position, and that the present editor himself has correctly joined fr. 75 to fr. iv. (where read *ε.ουσα*, perhaps *ἐξουσα*, not *ἐ[σ]ουσου*, p. 21). I may add that fragments 70 and 96 also join (*αλ[λ]α γην | 52υμ[ε] π[ρ]οληγαδων | 61.φαος | 71εζωζυγωι*, the first  $\zeta$  corrected).

The sober-minded will approve the editor's judgment in relegating guesses for the most part to the bottom of the text. They would still more have approved the omission of a great many of them. For if it is useless to print, *exempli gratia*, both Bury's *ἡ Δημ[ν]ία χθών* [*Υψιπύλην ἔθρεψέ με*] and von Arnim's *ἡ Δημ[ν]ία χθών, παῖς δὲ* (*sic*) *ἦν, ἔθρεψέ με*] (p. 16), it is still more useless to print, even for the pleasure of adding 'vitiose,' Herwerden's *Δυκοῦρ[γος] αὐτὸς ἐκδημῶν τανῦν κυρεῖ*] (p. 6). But the editor is somewhat charitable to the outcasts of metre, as is shown by his reading in the text *σῶζου δὲ δὴ σὺ τέκνα, σφὼ δὲ μητέρα*, and defending it in a curious note (p. 48). The explanatory notes, also, while they contain some useful matter in the way of discussion of the course of the drama, follow the peculiar modern fashion of adducing illustrations which do not illustrate. At least, it may be doubted whether *θεῶν τις ὡς ἀπληστος ἦν* is made much more intelligible by a comparison with *ἐλπίς ἀπληστος*, *I.T.* 415 (p. 49).

Nevertheless, in spite of the presence of some things that one would wish away, this is a decent and serviceable, if not an indispensable, piece of work, which it may be hoped Mr. Italie himself will some day supersede.

E. LOBEL.

the MS. was a Reichenau book (*cf.* Fotheringham, p. xix). That may be; but the form just quoted indicates a Spanish stage in transmission (*cf.* the writer's *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul* I. [Cambr., 1922], pp. 253 f.).

<sup>1</sup> With the body of the work the present reviewer had nothing to do, since most of it was already in print before he saw it.

*Paleografia Latina Diplomatica e Nozioni di Scienze Ausiliarie.* NICOLA BARONE. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". One vol., with atlas, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 352. 40 small cuts in text, 28 plates in atlas. Napoli: Rondinella e Loffredo, *Biblioteca di MOYSEION*, Vol. I., 1923. Lire 40.

THIS book gives 128 pages to Palaeography, including everything to do with *Schriftwesen*, 120 to Diplomatic, 50 to Chronology, Sphragistic, and to an account of money, weights, and measures in the Two Sicilies; the transcription of the facsimiles takes the last 50 pages. It is evidently intended to supplement the author's lectures in the University of Naples. Even for this purpose the account of the history of Latin writing is very meagre; to Classical students it would not supply anything like enough information. The Diplomatic Section is much better, as to it 26 of the facsimiles are allotted; most of these are taken from the records of Southern Italy. A historian with some general knowledge of Diplomatic who wanted to make himself acquainted with the documents of the Two Sicilies would find this book a convenient introduction, but to the ordinary palaeographer it would offer little interest in any but the earlier specimens, which illustrate the cursive background upon which the Beneventan Script stood out as an artistic book-hand. The bibliographical references to Italian works might be useful; those to foreign books are very incomplete. There are a good many misprints.

E. H. MINNS.

*The Claim of Antiquity, with an Annotated List of Books for those who know neither Latin nor Greek.* Pp. 30. Oxford University Press, 1922. 1s.

THE Councils of the three great classical bodies are to be congratulated and thanked for officially recognising the needs of those who are unacquainted with the ancient tongues. The material at their disposal was abundant; the writers of Greece and Rome are available in good translations, several of which have become classics themselves; with the exception of Hebrew, there is no other literature, ancient or modern, which can be adequately studied in English versions.

There is not a single item in the Greek list which one would care to see omitted, but a few more entries would greatly help those for whom the booklet is intended. The editors were quite justified in omitting Pindar and Bacchylides, as little can be gleaned from these in an English dress. But why leave out the *Hellenica* and Arrian's *Anabasis*? Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Arrian, and Plutarch, provide a course of Greek History from our best authorities. The *Hellenica* is certainly not great history, and Xenophon committed an act of criminal folly when he set himself to continue the masterpiece of his predecessor. But at any rate his book is a continuous and contemporary account of a period covering fifty years, and it is full of 'good things.' Arrian again is racy and interesting, and he gives us a clear account of Alexander's cam-

paigns from a first-rate source. I would suggest the following additions to the list. P. 8, J. T. Sheppard, *The Pattern of the Iliad* (Methuen, 7s. 6d.); p. 10, H. G. Dakyns, *Hellenica, Oeconomicus* (Macmillan, 12s. 6d.); p. 12, J. F. Dobson, *The Greek Orators* (Methuen, 8s.); A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Demosthenes (Heroes of the Nations, 10s. 6d.)*; A. S. Way, *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Dent's *Temple Classics*); E. J. Chinnock, *Arrian's Anabasis* (Bohn Library, 6s.); *The Characters of Theophrastus*, translated by Healey, with Earle's *Microcosmographie* (*Temple Classics*); p. 14, J. Baikie, *The Sea-Kings of Crete* (A. and C. Black, 7s. 6d. in 1910); G. W. Botsford, (a) *A History of Greece, 1899* (Macmillan, now 9s.), an excellent book, too little known in this country; (b) his *Hellenic History* (Macmillan, 18s.) includes the Cretan discoveries which were not dealt with in (a); Thallon, *Readings in Greek History* (Ginn, 17s. 6d.), contains long extracts from Homer, the dramatists, orators, historians, etc., which I have found useful for Greekless students attending lectures on the History of Greece. *The Treatise on the Sublime* once won many readers when published in Cassell's *National Library* at 3d.; there are translations of it by Havell (Macmillan, 5s.) and Prickard (Oxford University Press, 6s.).

T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

*Sketches from a Library Window.* By BASIL ANDERTON, M.A. Pp. 182. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1922.

THIS book, by the City Librarian of New-castle-upon-Tyne, consists in some eight essays, of which the first two, dealing with Justus Lipsius, and the fourth, entitled *The Lure of Translation*, most nearly concern the classical reader. They are all quite admirably written, in exact, pure, and sober English, which it is a pleasure to read. Having said so much, I feel that I must add the warning that the unlearned reader may not find Mr. Anderton a very exhilarating writer. This is largely due to Mr. Anderton's own modesty and choice of subjects. Thus he translates the most interesting part of the *de constantia*. It could not be done better, but nothing can make the *de constantia* anything but rather dull. A *réchauffé* of Stoicism in imitative Latin is fated to dullness, even if Lipsius be the author. There follows an excellent account of Lipsius himself. But there again one must admit that the man, like so many of these great early scholars, looks to us (unfairly enough, we may presume) a good deal of a pedant. This is scarcely a reflection upon Lipsius, since it is the fate of the scholar that his work survives while he himself is forgotten. It is the injustice of the world, but he is content.

The essay on translation is a little formless, and is perhaps overloaded with quotations. Indeed, the essays on classical subjects make less appeal to me on the whole than such as those on Wordsworth (*Nature and Human*

*Nature*) and Sir Thomas Browne. (This last paper seems to make a real contribution to the subject of prose rhythm.) Not but what Mr. Anderton is sensible enough on the question of verse translation. He sees the absurdity of legislating for all future translators. 'Translators, being artists in language, act like other artists' (p. 58). Just so; and therefore we ought to let them alone. We really cannot help them with our advice.

On p. 55 *damna tuum* has become *damnatum* in the printing, and Mr. Shewan is called Mr. Sherman on p. 51. Otherwise, unless it be for a French accent on p. 1, this book must be pretty nearly *sine errore*.

J. A. K. THOMSON.

*The Pyrrhic Accent and Rhythm of Latin and Celtic.* By THOMAS FITZHUGH, Professor of Latin in the University of Virginia. Pp. 24. Virginia Alumni Bulletin, April, 1923.

IN this pamphlet, in which he resumes a theory already maintained by him in a long series of publications, Professor Fitzhugh claims to 'have resurrected a new Latin speech and a new Latin verse . . . and the beauty and mastery of the one is, as elsewhere in the God-given realm of the Logos, the beauty and mastery of the other.' Put briefly, his theory is that when Ennius or Virgil, Catullus or Horace, thought they were writing in the metre of Homer or Sappho they were deceiving themselves; 'in every breath and line' they were using the accent and rhythm inherited by the Latin language from the period of 'Italo-Celtic unity,' and that without knowing it. It is doubtless perfectly true that the graecising fashion in Latin verse did not go very deep. The emergence after two or three centuries of eclipse of what seem to be accentual, not quantitative, metres indicates that the heart of the country remained sound. For Professor Fitzhugh's argument it, perhaps, proves too much. It may also be conceded to Professor

Fitzhugh that the acoustic effect of hexameters read by a Roman and by a Greek would be very different. But beyond that it seems unsafe to go, and the details of Professor Fitzhugh's theory have really nothing to support them. The introduction into the argument of the hypothesis of an Italo-Celtic unity involving common principles of metre appears to be based on a misunderstanding of the terminology of linguistic science. The examples of Irish verse which Professor Fitzhugh produces to illustrate the theory merely prove that he should carefully avoid the subject. His explanation of *triumpe* as 'O Three Foot' has an interest of its own.

J. FRASER.

*The Sacred Dance.* A Study in Comparative Folklore. By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. One vol. Pp. x+234. Cambridge University Press, 1923. 8s. 6d.

DR. OESTERLEY is primarily an Old Testament scholar. His knowledge of classical dances, which play a subsidiary part in his treatise, is evidently based upon secondary authorities. These, however, are in the main well chosen, though he would have found material, which he has missed, if his attention had been drawn to works dealing with the detail of Greek ritual, such as those of Stengel and Eitrem. Sir William Ridgeway's work upon dramatic dances, and, perhaps fortunately, the knotty problem of the origin of Greek tragedy, are not discussed. Our author's belief that the Dionysiac dance was Oriental and came from Syria must be due to misunderstanding. Most of his information, however, on classical subjects is correct, as far as it goes, and the book as a whole is a sound piece of honest work, which is clearly and sensibly, if a little aridly, set out. To students of classical religion it may provide a convenient summary of some interesting comparative data.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

### CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK). (1923.)

HISTORY.—November 12. Tenney Frank, *A History of Rome* [New York, 1923] (W. W. Hyde). Highly praised as an almost ideal textbook for college use: it covers the history to 476 A.D. in 613 pp. H. criticises individual views, and speaks of F.'s 'economic bias': his treatment is generally conservative and his style clear.

LITERATURE.—October 15. T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* [Oxford and New York, 1921] (A. Shewan). S. strongly and at length supports A.'s view of the authenticity of the Catalogue against Leaf.—October 22. J. D. Bickford, *Soliloquy in Ancient Comedy* [Princeton, 1922] (A. L.

Wheeler). A good and useful doctorate dissertation.—October 29. D. R. Lee, *Child-life, Adolescence, and Marriage in Greek New Comedy and in Plautus* [Menasha, Wisconsin, 1919] (A. L. Wheeler). Long review, generally unfavourable.—November 19. A. Gudeman, *Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst, neu übersetzt* [Leipzig, 1921] (L. Cooper). Shows great fidelity to the Greek, yet is natural idiomatic German: makes more use than Bywater of the Arabic version in constituting the text.

PHILOSOPHY.—October 22. W. H. Heidel, *Anaximander's Book, the earliest known Geographical Treatise* [Boston, 1921: reprinted from Proceedings of American Academy of Arts and Sciences] (W. W. Hyde). A critical and exhaustive study.—November 19. W.

Veazie, *Empedocles' Psychological Doctrine* [New York, 1922] (R. B. English). Seeks to disentangle Emp.'s real views from the misunderstandings of Aristotle and later writers.

RELIGION.—November 5. J. C. Murley, *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul as seen in the Inscriptions* [Menasha, Wisconsin, 1922] (J. W. Hewitt). A well-written dissertation for the Chicago doctorate, with an adequate bibliography.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLAS-  
SISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC.

(LI./LII. 4, 1923.)

C. W. Blegen, *Korakou, a Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth* [Boston and New York, 1921] (F. Studniczka). G. Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai* [Halle a. S., 1921] (F. Studniczka). Both books are described at length and warmly praised, but in each various conclusions are disputed.—U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Pindaros* [Berlin, 1922] (E. Bethe). The substance is warmly praised, but the arrangement and obscurity are criticised. Bethe disagrees with various points, especially with W.'s belief in Pindar's noble birth.—B. Schweitzer, *Herakles* [Tübingen, 1922] (E. Bethe). Worthless.—Tenney Frank, *Vergil, a Biography* [New York, 1922] (R. Heinze). F.'s hypotheses are bold and novel, but mostly untenable. Heinze denies that *Ciris*, *Culex*, and *Aetna* can possibly be by one poet, and he does not believe that any of the three is by Vergil. F. grossly overrates Vergil's debt to Epicureanism, and underrates that to Stoicism.

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1923.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—N. Wecklein, *Textkritische Studien zu den griechischen Tragikern* [SB. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., München, 1921. Pp. 104] (Busche). First part contains survey of method and principles of textual criticism; in second part W. first discusses the MSS. and then adds his own emendations. Reviewer doubts if many of latter will find general acceptance.—*Theophrasti Characteres*. Ed. O. Immisch [Leipzig, 1923, Teubner. Pp. vi+45.] (Holland). Characteristically reliable, concise, and finished work; supplies long-felt need in Bibl. Teubneriana. Reviewer raises hope of annotated edition to follow.

LATIN LITERATURE.—K. Witte, *Horas und Vergil* [Erlangen, 1922. Pp. 32] (Aly). Tries to prove from structure of 2nd and 16th Epodes that Horace is following Vergil.—J. C. Austin, *The significant Name in Terence* [Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. vii, 4. Urbana, 1921, Univ. of Illinois Press. Pp. 130] (Wüst). Deserves notice as an attempt in a very difficult field;

could be improved by re-arrangement of material. Reviewer points out some weaknesses.—*Catulli Veronensis liber*. Rec. E. T. Merrill [Leipzig, 1923, Teubner. Pp. viii+92.] (Hosius). On the whole satisfactory text; very brief introduction.—A. Gudeman, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur. I. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Republik* [Sammlung Göschen. Berlin, 1923, de Gruyter. Pp. 108] (A. Klotz). Superficial and unreliable.

HISTORY.—F. B. Marsh, *The Founding of the Roman Empire* [Univ. of Texas Press, 1922. Pp. vii+329] (Gelzer). Deals with Pompey, the Triumvirate, Caesar, and political work of Augustus; written with sound appreciation of facts.—U. Kahrstedt, *Griechisches Staatsrecht. I. Sparta und seine Symmachie. Mit vier Exkursen über den kretischen Staat, das korinthische Kolonialreich, das Wesen des archaischen Staates, die Amphiktyonie von Delphoi* [Göttingen, 1922, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht] (Bilabel). All the sources have been examined with splendid results; K. raises new questions and gives stimulating answers. Reviewer severely criticises faulty style, bad misprints, etc.

LANGUAGE.—W. A. Baehrens, *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur vulgärlateinischen Appendix Probi* [Halle, 1922. Pp. 130] (A. Klotz). Main value of B.'s work lies in his discussion of Vulgar Latin accent, phonology, morphology, and word-formation; rich collection of material, but no index.—E. Hofmann, *Qua ratione ἔπος, μῦθος, αἶνος, λόγος et vocabula ab eisdem stirpibus derivata in antiquo Graecorum sermone adhibita sint* [Göttinger Preisarbeit und Dissertation, 1922. Pp. iv+123] (Toedtmann). A model of semasiological research; H. has finally settled the history of *μῦθος* and *ἔπος*, but reviewer is not in complete agreement about *αἶνος* and *λόγος*.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ART.—E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen. 3 Bände* [München, Bruckmann. Pp. 918 and 805 illustrations on 361 plates] (Karo). Monumental work covering whole field of Greek painting, except Minoan art and Roman wall decoration; admirably illustrated. Reviewer praises lucid and critical handling of material.—P. Steiner, *Die Villa von Bollendorf* [Trier, 1922, Linz. Pp. 59 with 2 plates and 34 illustrations] (G. Wolff). Contains important modification of accepted views on one type of Roman villa in Germany.—F. Studniczka, *Die Ostgiebelgruppe vom Zeustempel in Olympia angeordnet und gedeutet* [Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., Leipzig, 1923. Four figures and one double plate] (Pfuhl). Important essay in regrouping of figures in East Pediment at Olympia. Reviewer discusses and criticises in detail.—H. Schaál, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen* [Frankfurt a. M., 1923, Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt. Pp. 80 and 60 plates] (Langlotz). Valuable for illustrations rather than text. Reviewer contributes informing discussion.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## PROSODIA LATINA.

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,

Perhaps the best acknowledgement of the kindness of my friend Professor Sonnenschein's review<sup>1</sup> is to respond to his suggestion that I should explain myself further on a point of detail, not indeed cardinal in itself but involving what is cardinal. I had said in § 47 of my book that *-mat* [as in *amat*] is a syllable only before a following consonant or at the end of a sentence or verse. These words were not intended for a positive and formal statement of the rules which govern the distribution and, by consequence, the scansion of the final sounds of words whereof *amat* is taken as a specimen, but as a general caution to the student respecting the practice of Latin speech as a whole, both in prose and in verse. In the first of the three cases ('before a following consonant') prose and verse were regarded, in the second, speaking generally, prose only, and in the third of course verse alone. I thank Professor Sonnenschein for pointing out the insufficiency of the statement, which, when occasion offers, I will endeavour to mend. On the actual question which he raises I can admit no doubt. Quoting *Aen.* iv. 238 *Dixerat. Ille patres*, etc., and *Aen.* xi. 709 *Dixit: at ille furens*, etc., he asks how are we to scan these lines, for the pause at the end of the first sentence makes it impossible to pronounce *Dixera-Tille* or *Dixi-lat*. He thus denies liaison of a consonant at the end of a sentence, assuming that a sentence in verse must end with the last sound of its final word, and that it is after the completed word that the sentence pause will come. There is, however, another liaison which clamours for attention—the liaison of vowels or 'elision,' of which I treat in the next following page. The Roman poets might easily have avoided elision at the end of a sentence, had they chosen; but they did not choose. For examples take *Georg.* i. 100 f. *Vmida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas | Agricolae: hiberno laetissima puluere farra*, *ib.* ii. 17 ff. *Pullulat ab radice aliis densissima silua | Vi cerasis ulmisque; etiam Parnasia laurus | Parua sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra*. Here the sentence pause cannot

come after the last sound of the final word (*agricolae, ulmisque*); for this would give not elision but hiatus. Either, then, there was no pause between the sentences, and the value of the sentence pause as an argument for pronunciation and scansion disappears; or the sentence pause was in the unelided portion of the word, being, for example, either (a) *agrico-* or (b) *agricol-*. If Professor Sonnenschein elects for (a), why should *dixera-* shock him when *agrico-* does not? If for (b), he must explain why the *l* was so upset by the elision that, deserting its partner and forgetting the established principles of Latin word-division (*agri-co-lae*), it backed into the preceding syllable, and in the second example how *qu(e)* can be pronounced with its sentence without producing a final combination of sounds which even if pronounceable, is completely alien to the Latin tongue. Failing such explanations, the unbiassed reader will conclude that in the liaison of vowels the punctuation of a verse is immaterial to its scansion, and will ask to be told why it should be material in the liaison of consonants. In this connexion he will bethink himself that ancient verse forms were indifferent not only to stops but, what to us is much more disconcerting, changes of speakers, and that he has only to turn a page or two of Plautus to discover that division of a line between two interlocutors is (as at *Amph.* 307) no obstacle to liaison between their speeches, and that Vergil does not shrink from elision at the end of sentence, verse and speech in one, *Aen.* iv. 629 '*pugnent ipsique nepotesque*.' | *Haec ait*.

With other important questions raised by Professor Sonnenschein, especially in their bearing on the proper teaching of the Latin classics in our schools and universities, I hope to have another opportunity of dealing. But I feel that I ought at once to protest against the suggestion that I regard the metre of Myers' *St. Paul* as 'ignoble.' The metre so stigmatised in '§ 323 p. 114,' is the measure commonly called the English sapphic, ridiculed by Canning in the *Anti-Jacobin*, from which I then quote a stanza. And may I ask readers of my book to correct two oversights affecting numbers that may cause trouble? In § 319 (end) 'Fourth' should be 'Fifth' and in § 348 'three feet' should be 'two feet.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

<sup>1</sup> See *C.R.*, Vol. XXXVII. (1922), p. 125.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

\*.\* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

*Billson* (C. J.) The Aeneid of Virgil, translated by C. J. B. New and revised edition. Pp. viii + 365. Oxford: Blackwell, 1923. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

*Buckler* (W. H.) and *Calder* (W. M.) Anatolian

Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay. Edited by W. H. B. and W. M. C. Pp. xxxviii + 479. 14 plates. Manchester: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 36s. net.

*Carnoy* (A.) Manuel de Linguistique Grecque.

- Les sons, les formes, le style. Pp. 426. Louvain : Éditions Universitas ; Paris : E. Champion, 1924. Paper.
- Classical Philology*. Vol. XVIII., No. 4. October, 1923.
- Cocchia* (E.) Saggi Glottologici: contributo allo studio del latino arcaico. Pp. vii+365. (Biblioteca di MOYSEION, Vol. IV.) Naples: Rondinella and Loffredo, 1924. Stiff paper, 35 lire.
- Croiset* (A.) Platon, Tome III., 2<sup>e</sup> partie. Gorgias, Ménon. Texte établi et traduit par A. C. avec la collaboration de L. Bodin. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. Paper.
- Diès* (A.) Platon, Tome VIII., 1<sup>re</sup> partie. Parménide. Texte établi et traduit par A. D. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. Paper, 9 francs.
- Doherty* (F. C.) The Martyrdom of Socrates. The Apologia and Crito, with selections from Phaedo, partly in the original and partly in translation. Edited by F. C. D. Pp. 112. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Goelser* (H.) Tacite, Annales, Livres I.-III. Texte établi et traduit par H. G. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. Paper, 16 francs.
- Guillemin* (A.-M.) Cornélius Népos. Texte établi et traduit par A.-M. G. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. Paper, 16 francs.
- Gyomlay* (J.) Epilegomena ad Homerum, sive observationes ad elocutionem et compositionem Iliadis et ad quaestionem Homericam. Pp. 54. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Nyomdája, 1923. Paper.
- Hadow* (W. H.) Citizenship. Pp. xi+240. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Hallam* (G. H.) Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm. With illustrations and maps. Pp. 24. Harrow: School Bookshop, 1923. Boards.
- Johnson* (A. F.) Francisci Petrarchi Epistolae Selectae. Edidit A. F. J. Pp. x+276. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth.
- Koch* (K.) Galeni de sanitate tuenda, de alimentorum facultatibus, de bonis malisque sucis, de victu attenuante, de ptisana; ediderunt K. K., G. Helmreich, C. Kalbfleisch, O. Hartlich. Pp. lxiv+522. (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, V 4, 2.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1923. Paper, about 3.66 shillings.
- Lawton* (W. C.) The Soul of the Anthology. Pp. xii+179. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Milford), 1923. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Leaf* (W.) Strabo on the Troad: Book XIII., Chapter I., edited with translation and commentary by W. L. Pp. xlviii+352. Cambridge: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 25s. net.
- Montgomery* (M.) Friedrich Hölderlin and the German Neo-Hellenic Movement. Pp. viii+232. Oxford: University Press, 1923. Paper, 10s. 6d. net; cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Norwood* (G.) The Art of Terence. Pp. 156. Oxford: Blackwell, 1923. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Oman* (J.) Book of Revelation: theory of the text: re-arranged text and translation: commentary. Pp. xi+168. Cambridge: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Pease* (A. S.) M. Tulli Ciceronis *De Divinatione* liber secundus. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. VIII., No. 2, pp. 341-462.) Urbana, 1923. \$1.50.
- Philosophical Essays presented to John Watson*. Pp. 346. Published by Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Cloth, \$1.50 post free.
- Richter* (Gisela M. A.) The Craft of Athenian Pottery. An investigation of the technique of black-figured and red-figured Athenian vases. Pp. 113; 89 illustrations. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Milford), 1923. Boards, 25s. net.
- Ross* (W. D.) Aristotle. Pp. vii+300. London: Methuen, 1923. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Vol. I., fasc. 1. Pp. 68. Leyden: Sijthoff, 1923. Paper.
- Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 1922. Vol. LIII. Pp. 197+lxv. Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio. Paper.
- Vial* (F. G.) Three Measures of Meal. A study in religion. Pp. xxxii+342. Oxford: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Walker* (R. J.) Addenda Scenica, being a treatment (supplementary to Nauck's) of the fragments of the Tragici Minores Graeci, together with various discussions relating to Greek Tragedy, Satyric Drama, and Comedy. Pp. xii+611. Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1923. Paper.
- Walters* (R. C. S.) Greek and Roman Engineering Instruments. Pp. 16. (Excerpt Transactions of the Newcomen Society. Vol. II., 1921-1922).
- Walts* (R.) Sénèque. Dialogues. Tome 3<sup>e</sup>: Consolations. Texte établi et traduit par R. W. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. Paper, 14 francs.
- Wells* (J.) Studies in Herodotus. Pp. viii+232. Oxford: Blackwell, 1923. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Wylie* (J. K.) Solidarity and Correality. Pp. xvi+365. (Studies in Roman Law, No. 1.) Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1923. Cloth, 18s. net.

# The Classical Review

MAY—JUNE, 1924

## EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

C.B. writes :

The Cambridge performance of the *Birds* was a brilliant piece of work, and showed again, if it was necessary, the direct appeal which Aristophanes makes to a modern audience. All the imaginative qualities of the play came out strongly; the bird-costumes were beautiful individually and in combination, and their movements exceedingly delicate. At their first entrance, in the parabasis, and in the finale there was a real thrill of romance, heightened undoubtedly by the music written by Sir Hubert Parry for the first performance at Cambridge in 1883. As in the *Frogs* and the *Clouds* he caught to the full the quality of Aristophanes' humour, in the *Birds* Parry seized all his imagination and poetry. In other parts of the play one felt that the actors succumbed a little too much to the temptation which besets all modern performances of Aristophanes—that of playing to the gallery. The knowledge that half the audience probably does not understand Greek is a strong incitement to introduce modern touches and to overdo the burlesque and horse-play. The designer of the Cambridge costumes seemed particularly afflicted with this disease, and the introduction of a full-bottomed wig and a white mortarboard were surely unnecessary. Aristophanes will play himself without such extraneous aids, and it was a pity that the actors often allowed the brilliance of the

dialogue to be completely drowned in some irrelevant piece of humorous action.

The general level of the acting was certainly high, and the play went with a magnificent swing. Perhaps the most finished performance was that of Mr. A. R. D. Watkins, of King's, as the Owl (Coryphaeus); his movements were always delightful, and his speaking of the parabasis to Parry's beautiful accompaniment was a real triumph. Peithetairos (A. N. G. Richards, of Magdalene) has a long and rather thankless part, but he showed real dignity, and never let comedy become farce. The Epops sang his song admirably, and the various *Ἀλαζόνες* were full of life—though it was often too modern life. The Poet (F. Wormald, of Magdalene) was particularly attractive. The sacrificial goat was possibly an unauthorised introduction, but Mr. W. H. Fisher, of Emmanuel, gave him a deliciously quiet and humorous personification.

Dr. J. T. Sheppard and Mr. J. Burnaby earned the very hearty thanks of enthusiastic audiences for their production of the play: the amount of work put into it was enormous, and the result a real joy.

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### CORRIGENDUM TO 'ATAKTA' (PEARSON).

In the current volume, p. 13, col. 2, l. 15, for 'αἰδώς in 557' read 'αἰδώς; in 557'.—EDD.

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## VERSION

Two choirboys sing :

'Who's that gal comin' up the aisle; ain't she a snorter?'

'Hold your tongue, you son of a gun: that's the Bishop's dorter.'

From Prof. Sayce's *Reminiscences*.

- A. εἰπέ, τί χρῆμα κόρης ἄφατον τόδε νηὸν ἐσῆλθεν  
ἄρτι; βαβαί, πνείει Βριμόα· θαυμά μ' ἔχει.  
B. σίγα, τηλεβόλου παῖ ἐπεσβόλε, μή που ἀκούσῃ  
'Ἀρχιερεὺς· κείνου, σκαίε, φίλη θυγάτηρ.

A. SHEWAN.

## THE BALL OF EROS (AP. RHOD. III. 185 ff.)

σφαῖραν ἐντροχάλον . . .  
 χρύσεια μὲν οἱ κύκλα τετεύχονται· ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάστω  
 διπλοῖαι ἀψίδες περιηγέες εἰλίσσονται·  
 κρυπταὶ δὲ ῥαφαὶ εἰσιν· ἑλῖξ δ' ἐπιδέετομε πάσαις  
 κυανέῃ.

THIS passage has given a great deal of trouble to commentators, and has been variously misunderstood. Mr. Mooney, following de Mirmont, translates it: 'The circlets of it are wrought of gold (it is made of circlets of gold, de M.), and around each of them wind double curving rings; but the joinings are hidden, for a spiral of blue runs over all of them.' He takes this to mean that the ball was made of a number of separate circlets of gold, which were kept in position by two rings enclosing them on the outside, and that the joinings of the κύκλα and ἀψίδες were concealed by the spiral of blue. Seaton, on the other hand, follows the explanation of the scholiast ἀψίδες· οἱ συναφαί, and translates, 'All of gold are its zones . . .'

Now that is not how an ancient ball was made; and even if a ball were made of golden circlets stitched together, Hephaestus himself would have his work cut out to make it conform with these translations. An ancient ball was commonly made of a core of hair-stuffing enclosed in a cover, which consisted of several pieces of cloth or skin (φύλλα) sewn together. The seams were often disguised by designs or colouring; cf. the epigram εἰς σφαῖραν (Jacobs, 2, p. 563; *Anth. Pal.* 14, 82):

Μην ἔντροχός εἰμι· τὰ φύλλα δὲ μου κατακρύπτει  
 τὰς τρίχας· ἡ δὲ τρύπη φαίνεται οὐδαμῶθεν.

Here the MS. gives ἡ τρύπη; but Brunck reads ἡ δὲ τρύπη, keeping this form of τρύπα on the authority of Herodian (ed. Lentz, p. 443. 1). Bethe, however, is probably right in reading ἡ δὲ ῥαφή.

But surely in the passage of Apollonius it is a question not so much of construction as of ornament, in explanation of the preceding phrase in 132, περικαλλές ἄθυρμα. Here Pechties (*Qu. Phil. et Arch. de Ap. Rh. Arg.* 1912, p. 33) is nearer the mark in suggesting 'κύκλα illa simpliciter circulos parvos indicare, quorum plures media in pila erant.' But that is little

clearer than the text of Apollonius; and, at any rate, he goes on to make havoc of the sense by following the scholiast, and making of ἀψίδες a double row of seams. Is not κύκλα used in a spatial sense, just as it is applied by Zeno ap. Diog. Laert. 7. 155 to the 'zones' of heaven and earth? In that case, it seems nothing more than the space enclosed between two circular (and parallel) lines. ἀψίδες, *pace scholiastae*, has nothing in the world to do with 'seams'; it is a word which implies something forming a circle (e.g. the sun, Eur. *Ion* 88) or a semicircle or arc (e.g. the rainbow, Arist. *Meteor.* 3. 2. 3; the arch of heaven, Plat. *Phaed.* 247b). Here it is probably in the sense of a semicircle. δέ is explanatory, almost the same as γάρ (cp. 139 *inf.*, and *Od.* 1. 433 of Laertes and Eurycleia: εὐνὴ δ' οὐ ποτ' ἔμκτο· χόλον δ' ἄλλεινε γυναικός); the δέ answering this μὲν comes later, κρυπταὶ δὲ ῥαφαί κ.τ.λ. περιηγέες, as elsewhere in the poem, means 'circular,' here in the sense of 'forming a circle,' and finally διπλοῖαι is not so much in the sense of 'double,' i.e. two, each running the whole way round, as merely meaning 'two' numerically, cp. Soph. *O. T.* 20, Παλλὰδος διπλοῖς ναοῖς: i.e. two, each in the shape of an arc, together forming a circle.

Finally, and what is most important of all, a 'spiral runs over them all.' To make intelligible the usual interpretations of this passage—as far, that is to say, as they can be made intelligible at all—it is necessary to assume that 'each seam is covered by a spiral,' assuming more than one ἑλῖξ in defiance of the singular, or else that the spiral twists and turns in every direction in order to overtake all the seams. The explanation here suggested rests on two assumptions: (1) That it is a question of decoration, not construction; and (2) that when Apollonius says ἑλῖξ he does not mean ἑλικες.

Therefore we must imagine a ball with a number—not exactly stated—of κύκλα, a κύκλον being nothing more than the space occupied by two semicircular ἀψίδες; being a space, it is



'golden' only in the sense that the circular decoration which occupies it is golden. Having two ἀψίδες, each κύκλον has of course two joins, one on each side of the ball, where the two semicircles meet; these joins are naturally arranged one above the other, so that a single ἑλιξ—that is to say, a line running once round the circumference, meander-pattern—is able to conceal them all.

If the semicircular ἀψίς seems too bold an assumption, one can equally well imagine that each κύκλον was

covered by two circular bands of gold—like a fountain pen with two gold bands together; even so, it would be necessary to attach them to the main fabric of the ball, and this was done by stitches arranged as suggested above.

The greatest difficulty of all is the translation; it might run as follows:

'On it golden circles are marked out—golden, because each is formed by two arcs (of gold) which run round. They are stitched to the ball, but the seams are hidden; for over them all there runs a dark blue spiral.'

M. M. GILLIES.

### THE END OF THE SUPPLICES TRILOGY OF AESCHYLUS.

It is now more than a century since Hermann<sup>1</sup> put forward the theory that the last play of the *Supplices* trilogy (assumed to be the *Danaides*) culminated in the trial of Hypermnestra for disobedience to her father, and in her acquittal through the eloquence of Aphrodite; and, widely as critics have differed on other points, the correctness of this conjecture has become almost an axiom. It is stated as a fact in the sixth edition of Christ-Schmid's *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur* (1912),<sup>2</sup> and in England it has been assumed without argument by writers so various as Tucker,<sup>3</sup> Ridgeway,<sup>4</sup> Sheppard,<sup>5</sup> and Murray.<sup>6</sup> The object of this note is to point out how slender are the grounds for this confidence, and to invite consideration for a different theory.

Hermann based his suggestion, in the main, on two facts: first, that Pausanias, in his description of Argos, refers three times<sup>7</sup> to a trial and acquittal of Hypermnestra; and, secondly, that the principal fragment of the *Danaides* (fr. 44, Nauck), quoted by Athenaeus, is part of a speech by Aphrodite, which might well be part of a defence of Hypermnestra. This fragment fits especially well with the first

and most important of the three Pausanias passages (II. 19, 6): τὰ δὲ ξόανα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἑπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ Ἱπερμνήστρας ἀνάθημα. ταύτην γὰρ τῶν θυγατέρων μόνην τὸ πρόσταγμα ὑπεριδοῦσαν ὑπήγαγεν ὁ Δαναὸς ἐς δικαστήριον, τοῦ τε Λυγκέως οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡγούμενος, καὶ ὅτι τοῦ τολμήματος οὐ μετασχοῦσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ τῇ βουλευσάντι τὸ ὄνειδος ἡὔξησε. κριθεῖσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἀποφεύγει τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀνέθηκε Νικηφόρον.

Attractive as this theory is, it presents fundamental difficulties. It cannot be doubted that in the second play of the trilogy (probably the *Aegyptii*) Hypermnestra's sisters murdered their bridegrooms; and whatever view earlier poets may have taken of their conduct, it is incredible that the author of the *Oresteia*, even in his youth, can have assumed that they were *obviously* guiltless. Yet he can scarcely have assumed that they were *obviously* unpardonable, for in the *Supplices* both they and their father Danaus are entirely sympathetic. The villains of that piece are the sons of Aegyptus, whose brutal violence is typified in the figure of their herald. In this trilogy, as in the *Oresteia*, the villains of the first play became the victims of the second; and the last play of this trilogy, like the last play of the *Oresteia*, must surely have raised and solved the question of the guilt or innocence of those who had wiped out their wrongs in blood. The trial of

<sup>1</sup> *De Aeschyli Danaïdibus*, 1820 (= *Obuscula* II., pp. 319 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> *Supplices*, 1889, p. xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge Praelections*, 1906, p. 164; and *The Origin of Tragedy*, 1910, pp. 188 and 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Greek Tragedy*, 1911, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> In Miss Harrison's *Themis*, 1912, p. 347.

<sup>7</sup> II. 19, 6; 20, 7; 21, 1.

Hypermnestra for disobedience cannot have raised or solved this question in a satisfactory way. Her acquittal would be inevitable, but it would leave her sisters' case unsolved: at best it would condemn them by implication—a lame conclusion.

On these grounds I have long suspected that in the third play of this trilogy the defendant was not Hypermnestra; and I find that the substance of my arguments was anticipated by Hermann. He, however, met the difficulty by assuming that the play contained *two successive* trials and acquittals: first of the Danaids, then of Hypermnestra. Welcker<sup>1</sup> objected that this scheme was intolerably clumsy, and eliminated the trial of the Danaids. Since he wrote this half of Hermann's theory has, I think,<sup>2</sup> been almost forgotten.

We must admit the force of Welcker's criticism, but he rejected the wrong half. I have hitherto quoted only the evidence for a tradition of the trial of Hypermnestra; but there is also evidence (quoted by Hermann) for a tradition of the trial of Danaus as the responsible instigator of his daughters' crime. Our authority for this tradition is older and better than Pausanias. In the *Orestes* of Euripides, ll. 871 ff., the Messenger describes the trial of Orestes and Pylades by the Argives, and he says:

ὄρω δ' ἔχλον στελεχόντα καὶ θάσσοντ' ἄκραν,  
οὗ φασὶ πρῶτον Δαναὸν Αἰγύπτῳ δίκας  
διδόντ' ἀποῦσαι λαὸν ἐς κοινὰς ἔδρας.

The story is told at length in the scholia *ad loc.* The fullest version runs

<sup>1</sup> *Die Aeschyleische Trilogie*, 1824, p. 405. He returned to this trilogy in *Rh. Mus.*, 1846, pp. 481-510 (= *Kleine Schriften* IV., 1861, pp. 100-135).

<sup>2</sup> I gather that G. L. Ahrens in *Zeitschr. f. d. Ant. Wiss.*, 1844, 'Beil. zum Okt.', p. 4, anticipated my view by maintaining that the *only* trial in the last play was a trial of Danaus, but I have not seen this article. C. G. Haupt (*Supplices*, 1829, p. 112) and O. Gruppe (*Ariadne*, 1834, pp. 79 ff.) mentioned this half of Hermann's theory only to reject it. A. Tittler, in *Zeitschr. f. d. Ant. Wiss.*, 1838, col. 1003, gives the now received view; and so do G. W. Nitzsch in *Die Sagenpoesie der Griechen*, 1852, p. 563, and N. Wecklein in *Sitzb. d. philos.-philol. Kl. d. bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1893, II., pp. 393-450. I have not noticed any reference to the rejected theory later than Welcker's in *Rh. M.*, 1846, and its 1861 reprint in his *Kl. Schriften*.

as follows: ὅπου φασὶ πρῶτον Δαναὸν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῶν υἱῶν Αἰγύπτῳ δοῦναι δίκας. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Αἰγύπτως ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος τιμωρήσων τὸν φόνον. Δαναὸς δὲ μαθὼν ἐξῆγεν εἰς ὅπλα τοὺς Ἀργείους. ἀλλὰ Λυγκεὺς πείθει λόγῳ καθιστᾶσθαι τὴν ἐχθρὰν, καὶ καθιστῶσι δικαστὰς αὐτοῖς Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἀργείων τοὺς ἀρίστους. ἡ δὲ δίκη συνήχθη περὶ τὴν μεγίστην ἄκραν ἔνθα καὶ Ἰναχὸς ἀλίσσας τὸν λαὸν συνεβούλευσεν οἰκίζειν τὸ πεδίον. ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀλκίαια καλεῖται. One of the scholia adds that the poet Phrynichus also brought Aegyptus to Argos: this may be significant, for Phrynichus wrote an *Aegyptii* and a *Danaides*, and we know from the *Persae* how closely Aeschylus sometimes followed the older poet.

It is obvious that a very effective Aeschylean play could be built on these lines. The isolation of Danaus as sole defendant might be dramatically convenient, and the moral issue would be much the same as if the defendants were the Danaids; but from the title of the play it is, I think, more likely that Aeschylus made the Danaids at least co-defendants. The speech of Aphrodite, quoted by Athenaeus, would serve as well for the prosecution of the Danaids as for the defence of Hypermnestra: it is simply an assertion of the fundamental significance of marriage in the scheme of the universe. Apollodorus<sup>3</sup> records that Athena and Hermes purified the Danaids at the command of Zeus; perhaps these deities were the defending counsel. The verdict must have been an acquittal, but probably, as in the *Eumenides*, the issue trembled in the balance. I do not doubt that Aeschylus treated Hypermnestra as the noblest of the sisters: probably in the *Danaides*, as in the *Prometheus Vincetus* (l. 869), it was prophesied of her αὐτῇ κατ' Ἄργος βασιλικὸν τέξει γένος. It is not surprising that later poets should have tended to concentrate interest on this lonely and romantic figure, and this perhaps led to the invention of her trial and acquittal. Ovid's Hypermnestra (*Heroides* XIV.) writes to Lynceus from the cell where she awaits in fetters trial or summary punishment. Danaus

<sup>3</sup> II. i. 5.

is here a brutal and unsympathetic figure, and this is almost a necessary feature of such a version of the story.

What did Aeschylus mean by the trilogy as a whole? He must have raised some moral problem which he felt to be fundamental, and I cannot believe, with Ridgeway, that this was the question of exogamy. So far as I can follow the thought of the *Supplices* (and I claim no novelty for my view), the real issue seems to be the right of women to refuse to be forced into marriage. The Danaids' hatred of marriage is indeed meant to be fanatical—their constant harping on Epaphus' virginal conception is a significant symbol—but fundamentally they are justified. The crime of the sons of Aegyptus is their determination to force themselves on unwilling brides.

On the analogy of the *Eumenides* we might expect to find the final solution symbolised by Aeschylus in the foundation of some religious institution safeguarding the dignity of women; and I wish to make<sup>1</sup> the suggestion that he found such an institution in the Thesmophoria. Herodotus says: καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς περὶ, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφóρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι περὶ εὖστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίη ἐστὶ λέγειν. αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγούσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγίτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ ἐξανάστασης τῆς Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσφζον αὐτὴν μῦνοι.<sup>2</sup>

This story may well have been adopted or even invented by Aeschylus, who in the *Supplices* insists on the Pelasgian character of Argos. It is noteworthy that Herodotus' only mention<sup>3</sup> of Aeschylus is in this immediate

neighbourhood, and is also concerned with Demeter:<sup>4</sup> Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὀρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἴσις, Ἀρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Δισχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἤρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω, μῦθος δὲ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων· ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμὺν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος.

It is true that recent writers<sup>5</sup> are inclined to deny any original connection between the Thesmophoria and marriage; but the festival certainly enhanced the dignity of the Greek matrons, and the ritual was and is obscure enough to encourage speculative explanations. It was at the Thesmophoria that the matrons of the *Thesmophoriazusae* resolved to punish Euripides' libels on their chastity. The interpretation θεσμοφóρος = *legifera* seems to be as old as Callimachus;<sup>6</sup> and Roman writers, at least, definitely connected *legifera Ceres* with marriage: see Virgil, *Aen.* IV. 58, and the lines of Calvus, about Ceres, there quoted by Servius:

et leges sanctas docuit et cara iugavit  
corpora connubiis et magnas condidit urbes.

There is also the well-known evidence of the Coan inscription,<sup>7</sup> and of Plutarch *comi. praec.* I: μετὰ τὸν πατριὸν θεσμόν, δν ὑμῖν ἡ Δημήτρος ἱέρεια συνειργνυμένοις ἐφήρμοσεν.

The scarcity of evidence connecting the *actual cult* of the Thesmophoria with marriage or law-giving is satisfactorily explained if we suppose that it was Aeschylus, with his love of etymology, who first popularised this tendentious interpretation of the still unexplained epithet θεσμοφóρος.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

<sup>1</sup> After this article was written I discovered that this suggestion was made by A. Tittler in *Zeitschr. f. d. Ant. Wiss.*, 1838, col. 975, and that it was accepted by Welcker in *Rh. Mus.*, 1846, p. 503 (= *Kl. Schriften*, pp. 120, 121). Neither critic attaches exactly the same significance to the suggestion as I do, and I have left my remarks as I originally wrote them. Since Welcker, the suggestion seems to have been ignored by students of Aeschylus and by students of Greek religion alike.

<sup>2</sup> II. 171.

<sup>3</sup> II. 156.

<sup>4</sup> For Aeschylus' fondness for the mystical aspects of Demeter, cf. his oath in Aristoph. *Ran.* 886, and Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* III. 2, p. 1111a, with the comment of Eustratius (or 'Anonymus'): δοκεῖ γὰρ Δισχύλος λέγειν μυστικά τινα ἐν τε ταῖς Τοξοσίσι καὶ Ἱερείαις καὶ ἐν Σισύφῳ πετροκυλιστῇ καὶ Ἰφιγενείᾳ καὶ Οἰδίποδι. ἐν γὰρ τούτοις πᾶσι περὶ Δημήτρος λέγων τῶν μυστικωτέρων περιεργότερον ἀπτεσθαι εἶκε.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* III., pp. 75 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Hymn. Demet.* 19; cf. Diod. Sic. V. 5 (quoted by Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 324, no. 64).

<sup>7</sup> Paton and Hicks 386 (quoted *ib.*, p. 326, no. 73).

## SOME PASSAGES OF SOPHOCLES AND THUCYDIDES.

'THERE is still much to be learned by going back to the old and almost forgotten commentators.'—J. W. Mackail (C.R. XXXVII. p. 69).

Yes, both interpreter and emender have much to learn from them. For instance, Reiske's palmary emendation of Polybius III. 20. 3, στεγνότητα<sup>1</sup> for στυννότητα, has been lost out of sight. The conjecture κατέβαλον for κατέλαβον in Thucydides V. 26. 1, which I published in C.R. XXVI. (1912), p. 249, proves to have been made by Duker ages ago; and it has been made, since me, by M. Pohlenz,<sup>2</sup> so now perhaps it will find its way into the texts. Most of what I am to propose in Sophocles has been traced back for me to Moschopoulos.

But first a tentative conjecture which may restore the balance of BAA and AAB in Thucydides.

VIII. 71. 2. When Agis approached the walls of Athens, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ μὲν ἐνδοθεν οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν ἐκίνησαν, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἐκπέμφαντες καὶ μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἀνδρας τε κατέβαλον αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς προσελθεῖν καὶ ὅπλων τινῶν καὶ νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν.

Whatever Herodotus and Xenophon may do, Thucydides nowhere else uses καταβάλλω for 'kill.' The explanation 'because they came near' is slightly more appropriate to 'caught' than to 'killed.' The series 'men,' 'arms,' 'corpses,' suggests that the *men* were alive.

Read κατέλαβον, used like καταληφθεῖς in V. 10. 9. For the contrast between ἀνδρας and νεκρῶν compare especially IV. 38. 4.

I turn now to four passages of Sophocles.

I. δειὼν δ' αὖσας ὡς ὑφηγητοῦ τιнос πύλαις διπλαῖς ἐνήλατ'.

O.T. 1260-1.

II. τὴν Πυθόμαντιν ἐστίαν, ἣ τοὺς ἄνω κλάζοντας ὄρνεις, ὧν ὑφηγητῶν ἐγὼ

κτενέω ἐμελλον πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν.

O.T. 965-7.

III. ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἐνθένδ' εἶρπε, καὶ σύ που παρῶν

ἔξοισθ', ὑφηγητῆρος οὐδενὸς φίλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πᾶσιν ἐξηγαύμενος.

O.C. 1587-9.

IV.

μὴ λείπετ'. οὐ γὰρ ἂν σθένοι τοῦμὸν δέμας

ἔρημον ἔρπειν οὐδ' ὑφηγητοῦ δ' ἀνευ.

O.C. 500-2.

Three of these passages have in common a rare piece of syntax. The fourth has something wrong with its end. Each of them contains a word absent else from the better age of Greek.

Beginning Latin before Greek, we are familiar with *quo duce* from our tender years; and few of us could say off-hand whether οὐ ἡγεμόνος for *quo duce* is good Greek or bad, normal or rare.

Goodwin (*Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 875) collects instances of the absence of ὧν from various constructions in which it is normally present, and he says that such omission 'occurs chiefly after ἄτε, οἶα, ὡς, or καίπερ, and much more frequently with predicate adjectives than with nouns.' Among his examples is ὡς ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας, O.C. 83; and, if indeed those words mean 'since I alone am by,' there is an example of a genitive absolute without a participle, but with ὡς. Thus much may be said in illustration of my first passage; though its ὡς is not 'since' but 'as if,' and the predicate of the genitive absolute is not an adjective but a noun. But my second and third passages have neither participle nor ὡς: and another genitive absolute as naked as theirs is not to be found in Sophocles, perhaps not in all Greek. None such is adduced by the commentaries on Sophocles, and even the biggest grammars lead us only to Aesch. *Sept.* 363-8, where some

<sup>1</sup> The only doubt is between this and στεγανότητα. See *Cambridge Philological Society's Proceedings* for 1911, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Nachr. v. d. königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1919, Heft 1.

men take *δυσμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου* to mean 'now that the enemy has the upper hand'; but that is a passage which everyone emends as he will and translates as he can. Professor A. C. Pearson has drawn my attention to two passages which the grammars ought to adduce:

(1) *διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἐκασταχοῦ τοῖς τε τῶν δῆμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδ' ἐτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς, πολεμουμένων δὲ καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἐκατέροις, etc.*—Thuc. III. 82. 1.

Here, in one of the least trustworthy chapters of Thucydides, *ἐτοίμων* does look like a genitive absolute. It must be said, however, that this genitive absolute is sandwiched between others duly participial, and that *ἐτοίμος* is an adjective which tends to dispense with a verb.

(2) *πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παντοίας ἐχόντων διαφορὰς τῶν συμβαινόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν μᾶλλον συνικνουμένων τῶν δ' ἦττον, etc.*—Ar. *Eth. N.* 1101a 24.

Here also, as Professor Pearson points out, the participles which follow cover the nakedness of *πολλῶν* more or less.

But there is no such palliative to the clauses of Sophocles.

With the rare words which our passages contain there is nothing amiss, except that they are rare. The verb *ὑψηγεῖσθαι* is quite at home in good Greek, and the nouns are rightly formed. But, apart from these four passages, Greek did without these nouns, it seems, until the time of Plutarch and Automedon.<sup>1</sup> When a rarity of vocabulary coincides with a rarity of syntax, and both rarities hang on a hair-stroke, suspicion is justly aroused.

<sup>1</sup> *Anth. Pal.* xi. 319. *ὑφαγεμών* is used by Meleager (*Anth. Pal.* xii. 56), apparently with the meaning 'viceroy.'

At *O.T.* 1260 L has *ὑφ' ἡγητοῦ*; at *O.C.* 1588 it has, after correction, *ὑφ' ἡγητήρος*; at *O.T.* 966 *ὑφ' ἡγητῶν*, Professor Pearson tells me, appears in the facsimile of T. Let us read the words *divisim* in all three passages alike. The scholia, for what they are worth, support the division in *O.C.* 1588 and *O.T.* 966.

*ἡγητής* is found in Aesch. *Suppl.* 239, *ἡγητήρ* in Soph. *O.C.* 1521, *ἀγητήρ* in Pind. *Pyth.* i. 69.

Besides its use with the agent and a passive verb, *ὑπό* is often used with an active verb to introduce the living instrument or accompaniment: *ὑπὸ κήρυκος προαγορεύειν, ὑπ' αὐλητήρος αἰεῖδειν*, and the like.<sup>2</sup> In the first and the third of our passages, 'with' is the best English word for it; the second is not easy to translate, whether *ὑψηγητῶν* be one word or two. Perhaps 'under whose guidance'; Oedipus may have thought and spoken as if the oracle and the omens had sought to lead him to parricide.

If I have dealt rightly with these three passages, *ὑψηγητοῦ*<sup>3</sup> in the fourth is left forlorn. The *δ' ἄνευ* of L and most manuscripts will not do, and *γ' ἄνευ* is no better. With the emendation *οὐδ' ὑψηγητῶν ἄνευ* or *οὐδ' ὑψηγητοῦ δίχα* the phrase adds nothing of value to *ἐρημον*. Moreover, the departure of his daughters would not leave Oedipus without a guide, for the friendly Chorus are there; but it would leave him dependent, if he wished to move, on a guide new and strange. Should we read *οὐδ' ὑφ' ἡγητοῦ νέου*? For *νέος* used of a person without any implication of youth compare Eur. *Andr.* 819. This, or *ξένου*, which is suggested to me by a friend, gives a fully satisfactory verse.

E. HARRISON.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *ὑπὸ πομπῆς*, 'under escort,' Hdt. ii. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Vat. (Pal. 287) has *ὑφ' ἡγητοῦ*.

## AN IMPERIAL ESTATE IN GERMANIA SUPERIOR.

THE two towns of Rottenburg and Köngen lie on the left bank of the upper Neckar in Württemberg. Both the sites were occupied in Roman times. Excavations have proved that at Rotten-

burg the Roman town, surrounded by a wall, covered an area of about a hundred acres; and various finds, including a bath-house of a type characteristic for German auxiliary forts, have demon-

strated the previous existence somewhere within this area of a frontier station.<sup>1</sup>

At Köngen the actual remains of a similar fort have been unearthed, as well as extensive traces of a civil settlement lying chiefly along a road running south-west, parallel to the river, and in the direction of Rottenburg.<sup>2</sup>

The pottery found in these two forts<sup>3</sup> proves them to belong to the advanced frontier line constructed either about 90 or 98 A.D. to take the place of the Vespasianic frontier defended by the line of forts situated on the east bank of the upper Rhine, and continued up the Kinzig Valley, past Waldmössingen and Rottweil, to the upper Danube at Mengen. They appear to have been abandoned and the sites given over entirely to civil occupation when the Outer Limes was constructed about 150 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

Their ancient names, Sumelocenna = Rottenburg and Grinario = Köngen, are attested by the Tabula Peutingeriana.

The inscriptions quoted below confirm these names, throw some light on the administration of the district in which they lie, and illustrate its development to a certain degree of local self-government:

1. (C.I.L. XIII. 9084) Imp. Caesar divi Traiani Parth. f. divi Nervae nep. Traian. Hadri. Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. XIII Cos. III p. p.<sup>5</sup> A Sumel(ocenna) m. p. XXVIII [Köngen].

2. (Westd. Korr. bl. V. (1886), p. 260)

[. . . ἐπίτροπον . . .

Σεβαστ[οῦ] χάρας [Σ]ομελοκεννησίας καὶ [ἱντ]ερλιμιτάνης ἐπίτροπ(ον) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρχείας Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς ἐθνῶν<sup>6</sup> Πομπηία Ἀντιπατρὶς τὸν ἐαυτῆς εὐεργέτην [Dusa in Bithynia].

3. (C.I.L. XIII. 6365) In honorem domus divin. ex decreto ordinis saltus Sumelocennensis curam agentib. Iul. Dextro et C. Turran. Marciano . . . mag(istris ?) [Rottenburg].

4. (C.I.L. XIII. 6384) Deo Mercurio Visucio et sa(n)cte Visucie P. Quartionius Secundinus

decurio civi. Suma(locennensis) ex iu(ssu) v. s.<sup>7</sup> l. m. [Köngen].

5. (O.R.L. 30 [Köngen], p. 39) In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) Genium et aram (?) vicanis Grinar(ionensibus) platie Sumeloce. [Attius Attianus posuit ?] [Köngen].

6. (C.I.L. XIII. 63) In h. d. d. I. O. M. platie d[ex(trae) ?] C(ives) [Su]melocenes. vici Grinar(ionis) maceriam d. s. p. [Köngen].

Since there seems no reason for assuming that Sumelocenna was a 'caput viae,' the milestone (No. 1 above) implies that in 129 A.D. Köngen-Grinario, where it was found, formed part of the same administrative unit as Rottenburg-Sumelocenna. No. 2, a fragmentary equestrian career, shows that this unit was an imperial estate. The inscription is dated by Mommsen to the reign of Domitian or Trajan; and though the argument by which he supports that date is not quite conclusive, yet the true date is unlikely to be much later. Mommsen's reading,<sup>7</sup> [ὑπ]ερλιμιτάνης, made it difficult to translate χάρας by 'saltus,' and apply it to a single estate. He translated by 'tractus,' Hirschfeld,<sup>8</sup> rejecting a suggestion that 'saltus' could be meant, by 'regio.' But a re-examination of the original 'squeeze' of the inscription<sup>9</sup> showed that the last letter before the clearly legible part of the text was not π but τ; and if we read [ἱντ]ερλιμιτάνης (a more likely form than the hybrid ὑπερλ.), and interpret it as describing the land lying between the old Vespasianic and the new Domitianic (or Trajanic) frontier, the area is much more closely defined, and is such as could easily be included in a single 'saltus.'<sup>10</sup> Such a description of the estate would naturally belong to a time when the change from the old to the new frontier line was still recent. The evidence of many imperial estates in Asia Minor shows that the cultivators of them were normally combined in a 'collegium,' often concerned in the worship of the Emperor, of whom not infrequently the procurator who managed the estate was the priest, while the tenants formed the δῆμος or 'plebs collegii.' It may fairly be assumed that

<sup>1</sup> Barthel in *VI. Bericht d. Röm. germ. Kommission* (1912), p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> O.R.L. n. 30 (Köngen), especially Taf. I.

<sup>3</sup> Published by Knorr, *Die Verzierten Terra-Sigillata Gefässe von Cannstatt und Köngen* (1905): d. V. T.-S. G. v. Rottenburg (1910).

<sup>4</sup> Barthel, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 129.

<sup>6</sup> Temp. Domitian or Trajan (?).

<sup>7</sup> Westd. Korr. blatt. V., p. 260.

<sup>8</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, p. 571 = *Klio* II., p. 308.

<sup>9</sup> Barthel, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 f. (with facsimile).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Frontinus, *De Controversiis Agrorum*, p. 53.

some such arrangement existed here also, for out of it might easily grow, as happened in Asia Minor, a quasi-municipal organisation. This stage is attested by the third of our inscriptions; and it may be observed that the formula, 'In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae),' not infrequently found in the inscriptions of Upper Germany, seems to occur particularly often at the two sites under discussion. No. 3 shows that the district, though still only a 'saltus,' now possesses an 'ordo,' presumably a copy of the normal municipal Senate. Its officials, however, seem to bear a title (if the last word of the inscription is correctly completed 'mag[istris]') more suited to a 'collegium' than to the normal town council. In No. 4 (found, it should be noted, at Köngen) we see the process completed. Sumelocenna has become a full-blown 'civitas' with 'decurions,' and presumably a full equipment of local magistrates.

The last two inscriptions enable us to add a few touches to the picture we have thus obtained of this 'civitas.' No. 6 seems to state definitely what is merely implied in No. 4—that Köngen-Grinario was a 'vicus' within the territorium of Sumelocenna. Zeller has shown<sup>1</sup> that the meaning of 'platia' in these inscriptions is sometimes the same as 'vicus'—i.e. a subdivision or quarter of a town<sup>2</sup>—sometimes, as here, the main street of a 'vicus' (in either sense of the latter term). No. 5 therefore records the setting up of a statue of the genius of the place, and perhaps an altar, on behalf of the inhabitants of the main street of Grinario, the 'platia Sumelocennensis'—'Rottenburg Street,' that is, the part within the 'vicus' of the road made or remade by Hadrian in 129 A.D.; a collective act of worship by the occupiers of the houses, whose cellars were revealed by excavations in the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Some details of the interpretation of No. 6 must remain uncertain. 'Dextrae' is doubtful; nor is it quite clear to which noun the genitive 'plati(a)e' attaches itself.

<sup>1</sup> *Archiv für latein. Lexikogr.* XIV., pp. 302 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Mainz inscription, *C.I.L.* XIII. 6776, '... platiodanni (=vico-magistri) vici novi.'

<sup>3</sup> *O.R.L.* 30 (Köngen), pp. 18 f.

We have here, then, in a Western province an imperial estate organised about the end of the first century, and passing gradually—perhaps in the course of the third<sup>4</sup>—to full municipal status, which may be set beside the examples from Phrygia, such as Pogla, Lagbe, Tymandos, Kinnaborion, studied by Sir William Ramsay and others.<sup>5</sup>

Such a development, which seems to be rare in the Western Provinces in general, is remarkable in Upper Germany. For, with the possible exception of the Civitas Aquensis at Baden, there seems no other instance in the province of the organisation of a town as an administrative unit. Upper Germany, like Britain and the Tres Galliae, used the tribe as the basis of local administration. On the left bank of the Rhine we have the Triboci, the Nemetes, and the Vangiones, all described as 'civitates,' but no sign of such a designation for Strassburg, or Speyer, or Worms; while east of the river are such units as the Suebi Nicretes (whose chief town, Lopodunum-Ladenburg, remained merely a 'vicus'), the Mattiaci, and the Taunenses. Mainz is the most remarkable of all. Its inhabitants seem not to have been members of any tribal 'civitas,' for none of the Mainz inscriptions mention the name of a tribe (the town lay perhaps in the territory of the Caeracates).<sup>6</sup> And yet it appears to have been merely a 'vicus,' though large enough to be subdivided into at least four intra-mural 'vici,' until the time of Diocletian.<sup>7</sup> How this is to be explained I do not know. In the case of Sumelocenna the explanation perhaps lies in the comparatively late date of the formation of the 'civitas.' Local self-government on the tribal basis was granted in the district east of the Rhine as early as the reign of Trajan, as the name 'Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicretium' shows; but by the third century in Gaul, and so

<sup>4</sup> The formula 'In h. d. d.' becomes common in and after the reign of Severus, though too many earlier examples exist to enable any definite deduction as to date to be drawn from it.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces* pp. 307 f., and references there cited.

<sup>6</sup> *Tac. Hist.* IV. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Zeller, *op. cit.*

perhaps in Upper Germany, the chief places had already come to play a predominant part in the internal economy of the tribal unit. And so, though this did not produce a change in the arrangements of the old-established 'civitates,'

to make a town the basis of the 'civitas' would be the natural course of procedure, especially in a district in which there is no evidence of the existence of any tribal unity.

D. ATKINSON.

### THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTUM IN PLINY AND A PAGAN COUNTERPART.

PLINY records in *ep. ad Traian.* 96. 6 that the Christians who came before him in his official capacity testified that they were accustomed to meet before dawn on a fixed day: 'carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum inuicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent; quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse uetueram.' Scholars have frequently been tempted to regard *sacramento* as a misunderstanding by Pliny of a Christian reference to the Eucharist.<sup>1</sup> This is unnecessary: the Eucharist is probably indicated by *cibum*,<sup>2</sup> and the *sacramentum* is something distinct. The term should mean an oath, like the soldier's oath of allegiance:<sup>3</sup> it is used of the gladiator's oath<sup>4</sup> and of the conspirator's oath.<sup>5</sup> The early Christian use of an oath need not surprise us, in spite of *Matt.* 5. 34, 37: there is evidence for it.<sup>6</sup>

Oaths in political societies are familiar; *συνωμοσία* is a synonym of *ἐται-*

*ρεία*.<sup>7</sup> An oath was certainly required of those who entered the Attic *Εἰκαδεῖς*,<sup>8</sup> possibly of the *Σαββατισταί* in Cilicia:<sup>9</sup> elsewhere it was demanded of the association's officials.<sup>10</sup> But the best parallel to the Christian oath is, I suggest, afforded by the regulations of a private shrine at Philadelphia, and published by Keil and Von Premerstein in the third of their admirable *Reiseberichte*.<sup>11</sup> The shrine was built by one Dionysius in accordance with a monition in a dream. Agdistis was its *οἰκοδόσποινα* (l. 52), but it contained altars of Zeus Eumenes, Hestia, the other *Θεοὶ Σωτήρες*, Eudaimonia, Ploutos, Arete, Hygieia, Tyche Agathe, Agathos Daimon, Mneme, the Charites, and Nike (l. 6-).<sup>12</sup> All who would enter it must swear (l. 17-) *δόλον μηθένα μήτε ἀνδρὶ μήτε γυναικὶ εἰδότες μὴ φάρμακον πονηρὸν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, μὴ ἐπὶ ὁδὸς πονηρὰς μήτε γινώσκειν μήτε ἐπιτελεῖν, μὴ φίλτρον, μὴ φθορέϊον, μὴ ἀτοκεῖον, μὴ ἀρπαγμόν, μὴ φόνον μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιτελεῖν μήτε ἐτέρῳ συμβουλεύειν μηδὲ συνιστορεῖν, ἀποστεροῦντες δὲ μηδὲν εὐνοεῖν τῷ οἴκῳ τῷδε, καὶ ἐάν τις τούτων τι ποιῇ ἢ ἐπιβουλεύῃ, μήτε ἐπιτρέψειν μήτε παρα-*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Thuc. 8. 54; Aristot. *Pol.* 1310a 7-; and Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> *I.G.* II.<sup>1</sup> 609.

<sup>9</sup> Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 573. 23; Ziebarth, *op. cit.*, p. 142. (He there discusses two more questionable examples.) Livy XXXIX. 8. 3 speaks of *clandestinae coniurationes* in connexion with the Bacchanalia (cf. *ibid.* 14. 8; 17. 6, and the *S.C. de Bacchanalibus*, l. 13).

<sup>10</sup> As Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup> 736.

<sup>11</sup> *Wiener Denkschriften* LVII. 1, p. 18, n. 18, *Abb.* 10, reprinted in Dittenberger<sup>3</sup> 985, and in *Sitzungsber. Heidelberg*, 1919, XVI., p. 4-.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. on the deities Weinreich's observations, and on combinations of deities in oaths A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II., p. 728- (which I quote from proof by the author's kindness).

<sup>1</sup> So T. A. Lacey *ap.* Hastings, *Encycl. Rel. Eth.* 10. 904, and others. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*<sup>2</sup> II. i., p. 59, leaves the question open.

<sup>2</sup> So Batiffol, *L'Église naissante et le Catholicisme*<sup>3</sup>, p. 28<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> This appears in Tertullian, *Martyr.* 3, a fact of particular interest if we recall that in Tertullian the term *sacramentum* is crystallising (cf. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes*<sup>8</sup> I., p. 428).

<sup>4</sup> As Petronius, *Sat.* 117.

<sup>5</sup> *Cod. Justin.* IX. 8. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. Mead *ap.* Smith-Cheetham, *Dict. Christ. Ant.* II., p. 1416; W. E. Beet *ap.* Hastings, *E.R.E.* 9, p. 434.



σωπήσειν, ἀλλ' ἐμφανεῖν καὶ ἀμυνεῖσθαι. They must further undertake on oath to practise chastity; a man may not have intercourse with any person of either sex, slave or free, except his wife and unmarried women who have lost their honour;<sup>1</sup> a free woman may not have intercourse with any save her husband. These precepts must not be violated after they have been set up: ὁ θεὸς γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτε βούλεται γίνεσθαι μηθαμῶς οὕτε θέλει, ἀλλὰ κατακολλουθεῖν (l. 46-). Obedience will bring blessings, disobedience, punishment (l. 46-).

Here, as the editors observe, the acts which are forbidden include a number which are sins rather than crimes. A genuine undertaking to observe a moral standard is required of all persons desirous to see the sacred rites performed in the shrine.<sup>2</sup> The significance of this is increased by the date of the inscription, which the editors put in the first century B.C., Hiller von Gärtringen in the second:<sup>3</sup> we may fairly assume that it is prior to the Christian era. Consequently, the close similarity of its requirements with *Didache* II.<sup>4</sup> is not to be explained as a copying of the latter.

The oath which Pliny mentions does bear a distinct resemblance to this; it may well be an adaptation of an earlier local use.<sup>5</sup> In its moral standpoint it is not isolated. The Lindian *lex sacra* of the second century of our era includes the significant words, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ τὸ

μέγιστον, χεῖρας καὶ γνώμην καθαρὸς καὶ ὑγιεῖς ὑπάρχοντας καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς δευρὸν συνειδόμενος:<sup>6</sup> a Delian inscription datable in 54/3 B.C. bids men enter the sanctuary of Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia χερσὶν καὶ ψυχῇ καθαρῶ.<sup>7</sup> Here we see slave and freeborn admitted without distinction,<sup>8</sup> and adultery with married slave-women condemned, as it was later by the Stoic Musonius.<sup>9</sup> Moral conceptions which we associate with Stoicism were, in fact, widely diffused in the Graeco-Roman world: 'inde cuncti didicimus' in the soldier's creed found at Carvoran by Hadrian's Wall<sup>10</sup> suggests that brotherhood of mankind in the worship of the Divine which is desired in the Philadelphian text.

In short, we see in this inscription one more illustration of the nature of that moral and religious atmosphere in which Christianity made such rapid progress. The prayer to Agdistis to give men and women righteousness (l. 52-) is typical of the new spirit.

A. D. Nock.

<sup>6</sup> Dittenberger 983. 3-: cf. Porphyry, *de abst.* II. 17, and E. Fehle, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* VI., p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Roussel, *Mélanges Homolle* (1913), p. 276, l. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lactantius, *Divin. instit.* V. 14, 'nemo apud eum (sc. deum) servus est, nemo dominus.' For the older exclusions cf. Wächter, *R.G.V.V.* IX. i., p. 123- (slaves), p. 118- (foreigners).

<sup>9</sup> *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 6. 23 (III., p. 286-, Hense); cf. his condemnation of abortion, *ib.* 75. 15 (p. 601, Hense), in marked contrast with Plato, *Rep.* 461c, *Theaet.* 149D, Aristot. *Pol.* 1335b 23, and in accordance with the Hippocratic Oath.

<sup>10</sup> *Carmina latina epigraphica*, ed. Bücheler 254. *cuncti* was regarded by the ancients as equivalent to *coniuncti* (Seru. *ad Aen.* I. 518; cf. *Thesaurus* l. L. IV. 1396, 1400). Petronius' parody of the Senecan teaching that slaves are our brothers (*Sat.* 71: cf. B. W. Henderson, *The Principate of Nero*, p. 93) bears witness to its dissemination. On the spread of ethical ideas cf. further A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 262; O. Kern, *P.W.* X. 1434. Sarapis and Isis protect all who *δῶτα φρονέουσιν*, says a Delian inscription of the second century B.C. (Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-religion*, p. 31, l. 33).

<sup>1</sup> So the editors rightly infer from *παρθένον* (l. 28).

<sup>2</sup> ὁρᾶν cf. *Hom. H. ad Demet.* 480 (Eleusinian) with Allen and Sikes *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> His opinion is quoted in Dittenberger.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 59 of Weinreich's paper for a detailed comparison.

<sup>5</sup> The Philadelphian oath was, of course, to be taken once only. For the Christian use of pagan practices cf. the judicious discussions of H. Delahaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, p. 168-; and J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, p. 224-.

## IS IT THE LEX GABINIA?

WHAT was the date of the Roman law prescribing measures against the pirates which was discovered during the French excavations at Delphi, and first published by H. Pomtow?<sup>1</sup>

On the strength of a reference to the consuls of 100 B.C. in a mutilated portion of the text Pomtow assigns the law to that year. On the other hand, E. Cuq has argued in a recent article<sup>2</sup> that one stray allusion to the year 100 B.C. proves nothing, and after a close examination of the contents of the law he comes to the conclusion that it is none other than the Lex Gabinia of 67 B.C.

Some fresh light on this controversy is thrown by the following passage in the inscription: ὅπως πολῖται Ῥωμαίων σ[ύμμαχοι] τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας Λατίνοι τὰ τε . . . κατὰ θ[άλασσαν ἀσφαλῶς πλεῖν δύνω]νται (ll. 6-7).

In the words underlined mention is made of only two categories of the inhabitants of Italy—Romans and Latins.<sup>3</sup> But in 100 B.C. there existed a third class, the *socii Italici*, which constituted a large and commercially the most active part of the population of Italy.<sup>4</sup> It is incredible that a statute of the year 100 B.C. should have omitted to mention the *socii Italici* in connexion with the safety of overseas commerce. On the other hand in 67 B.C. a division of the Italian population into Romans and Latins was complete and exhaustive, for by the franchise acts of

90-89 B.C. the *socii Italici* had been promoted either to Roman or to Latin status. Thus the formulation of the law indicates that 67 rather than 100 B.C. was the year of its enactment.

The following passage at first sight seems to lend support to Pomtow's view against Cuq's:

ὑπατος δς ἂν πρῶτος γένηται  
γραμμ]ατα πρὸς τοὺς δήμους π[έμψη]  
. . . . . καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐν  
τ[ῇ ν]ήσῳ Κύπρῳ βασιλεύοντα, καὶ πρὸς  
τὸν βασιλ[έα τὸν ἐν Ἀλε]ξανδρείᾳ καὶ  
Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύοντα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν  
βασιλέα τὸν ἐν Κυ]ρήνῃ βασιλεύοντα  
καὶ πρ[ὸς] τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐν Συρίᾳ  
βασιλεύοντας (ll. 5-9).

In 100 B.C. the Seleucid realm was divided between two rival kings, Antiochus VIII. Grypus and Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus, each of whom held part of the Syrian coast. On the other hand, in 69-5 B.C., according to Appian,<sup>5</sup> Syria had been reunited under one monarch, Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus. But against Appian we may set the following passage of Cicero:

'nam reges Syriae, regis Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romae nuper (i.e. shortly before 70 B.C.) fuisse; qui venerant non propter Syriae regnum (nam id sine controversia obtinebant, ut a patre et a maioribus acceperant), sed regnum Aegypti ad se et ad Selenen matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur.'<sup>6</sup>

This statement does not necessarily conflict with Appian's, for the elder of the two brothers may well have been the sole effective ruler, but it does show that legally the sovereignty of Syria had been put into commission. Therefore the expression *τοὺς βασιλεῖς* is as appropriate to the circumstances of 67 B.C. as to those of 100 B.C.

In all probability, therefore, the new inscription from Delphi is the Lex Gabinia.

M. CARY.

<sup>1</sup> *Klio*, Vol. XVII., pp. 172-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1923, pp. 129-150.

<sup>3</sup> Livy sometimes uses the expression '*socii nominis Latini*' to denote both the Latins and the *socii Italici* (e.g. 21. 55. 4, 38. 35. 9). But as a rule he uses the more correct formula '*socii ac nominis Latini*.' Inscriptions of course always make separate mention of Latins and *socii Italici*—e.g. *SC. de Bacanalibus*, ll. 7-8: 'Bacas vir nequis adiese velet ceivis Romanus neve nominus Latini neve socium quisquam'; *Lex Acilia*, § 1: *socium no[m]inisve Latini*.

<sup>4</sup> See Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, 1912, pp. 130-4, where it is shown that most of the negotiatores of the later Republic came from the south of Italy, and therefore mostly belonged to the third estate.

<sup>5</sup> *Syriaca*, chs. 49 and 70.

<sup>6</sup> *In Verrem* II. IV. § 61.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ERROR IN THE TEXT OF PHILO  
JUDAEUS.

THERE is a treatise amongst the printed works of Philo, the short title of which is *Ad Gaium*, and which, in a longer form, is (inscribed), 'On the Virtues and on the Office of Ambassadors.' It is a composition full of interesting material for the study of Caligula's reign—that period when Rome was dominated by a madman, who believed himself to be a god, and wished to make the Roman world share his delusion.

In this aberration he fell foul of the Jews, who neither in Alexandria nor in Jerusalem would accord him divine honours, and consequently became the prey of sycophants, informers, and rioters. Philo's embassy to Rome on behalf of his people is great reading. It is not only a study of the persecution of a race with whom persecution in one form or another appears to be perpetual, it is a diagnosis also and almost a daily bulletin of the mixed wickedness and lunacy of the Emperor. One can watch the changes in the successive deifications of Caligula: at one moment he is on the stage as a demi-god, at the next as a god; he will appear as a Dioscure, and successively as Zeus, Ares, Apollo, Hermes, or Herakles, the changing costume provoking a changing comment from the observant ambassador, who almost lays aside his monotheism in order to reinforce his scorn, and asks Gaius if he really represents the might of Zeus, the selflessness of the Dioscuri, or the truthfulness of Apollo. 'Had he really,' he asks, 'done anything comparable with the toils of Herakles, who purified both the earth and the sea, performing labours of the greatest possible importance and of the highest benefit to all mankind?' Or had he a right to rival Dionysos, who 'extracted a most delicious drink from the vine, which is at the same time most beneficial to the souls and bodies of men, leading the first to cheerfulness, working in them a forgetfulness of evils and a hope of blessings, and making the latter more healthy and vigorous and active and supple'? What right had Gaius to inscribe his name

by that of the twin sons of Zeus, those most affectionate of deities, seeing he had been 'the murderer of his brethren'?

It is curious to see Judaism saluting the gods and demi-gods as though they were real; but perhaps Philo salved his conscience by large doses of Euhemerism.<sup>1</sup> He goes on to describe how Gaius, who was sporting as a demi-god to-day, became a full-blown Olympian to-morrow. It is here that we find the emperor becoming more definitely archaeological. For instance, he must appear as Hermes, with a caduceus, winged sandals, and a mantle, as if he had stepped off the pediment of a temple or emerged from the device upon a coin. Then he comes to Apollo, and must needs have a headgear of rays, a bow and arrow in his left hand, etc. Let us examine the description a little more closely. The English translation (Yonge's, from which I am quoting) says as follows: 'Afterwards . . . he metamorphosed and transformed himself into Apollo, crowning himself with garlands in the form of rays, and holding a bow and arrows in his left hand, and holding forth graces in his right, as if it became him to proffer blessings to all men from his ready store, and to display the best arrangement possible on his right hand, but to contract the punishments which he had it in his power to inflict, and to allot to them a more confined space on his left.'

The archaeologist who reads this account will say that the translation needs an immediate alteration, microscopic in character, but far-reaching in meaning. We must replace 'graces' by 'Graces,' the suggested favours of Apollo by the Charites. So we turn to the most recent edition of Philo, by Cohn, Wendland and Co., to examine their text, and find it is disfigured by the very same error as in the English

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* c. 12: 'All of these, Gaius, were admired (and are still admired) on account of the benefits which they had conferred, and were thought worthy of reverence and the highest honours.' A sentence which might have come from Euhemerus or from Hecataeus, who is the predecessor and preceptor of Euhemerus.

rendering: τόξον τῇ εὐωνύμῳ καὶ βέλη κρατῶν χειρὶ, χάριτας δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ προτείνων (*Ad Gaium*, c. 13). Evidently we ought to read Χάριτας, not χάριτας. The emperor is posing as a statuary Apollo, holding the Graces in his right hand in the form of three small figures.

In the next chapter Philo resumes his scornful parallel: if he is really Apollo, crowned with rays, what has the god of light to do with his deeds of darkness? And as for the silver bow and the graces, 'let him at once throw away his graces altogether, or else let him keep them in the shade on his left hand, for he has defaced (lit. shamed) their beauty.' Here, again, we desiderate a capital letter for the beautiful Graces. The Greek has: τὰς δὲ χάριτας ἢ ῥιψάτω θάπτων ἢ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ συσκιαζέτω· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἥσχυνεν αὐτῶν.

Not in any text or translation of Philo known to us, from the great edition of Mangey downwards, have we found any recognition of the archaeological implication of the passages to which we have drawn attention.<sup>1</sup>

Now let us leave the textual critics, grammarians, and translators, and enter the region of Classical Archaeology proper in search of illustration of the mad pranks of Caligula as represented in Philo's account of the embassy. We begin by asking the question whether the emperor was definitely imitating any special study or work of art. In personating Apollo, did he copy from a statue or from a coin? Both were available. The statue is the famous one in Delos, by the sculptors Tektaios and Angelion (see Roscher, *Gr. Myth.* III., col. 450). It appears also in reproduction on Athenian copper coins, with Apollo holding the bow in the left, but the Graces in his right hand (two

specimens in the collection of Mr. A. B. Cook). In Prof. Percy Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins* the matter is referred to as follows: 'We can produce two instances in which valuable copies of celebrated works of sculpture of the Archaic period are preserved to us on coins. On a late coin of Athens (Pl. XV. 29) we find a figure of Apollo, stiff and rigid, with an archaic arrangement of hair, holding in one hand his bow, and in the other three small figures.'

We can scarcely be mistaken in seeing here a representation of the Apollo of Delos executed by Tektaios and Angelion, and mentioned by Pausanias (IX. 35) as holding in one hand a bow, in the other the three Charites or Graces. Of this statue, I think the only copies preserved are on coins and a gem.

We may further refer to the *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, 'Attica,' pp. 72 f., Pl. XI., 8; p. 82, Pl. XIV., 9. Pausanias refers to the same statue in another passage (2. 32. 5) as follows: Τεκταίου καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος, οἱ Δηλίοις ἐποίησαν τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. And we may compare Athenagoras, *pro Christianis*, c. 17, p. 19, ed. Schwartz): καὶ ὁ Δῆλιος, καὶ ἡ Ἀρτεμὶς Τεκταίου καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος τέχνη. On this Archaic masterpiece see further A. Furtwängler's remarks in the *Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, XL. 331. Furtwängler was the first to interpret the two winged figures which flank his effigy on the silver tetradrachms of Athens as griffins (not Eroses). See the enlarged coin figured by J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig, 1880), III. ('Apollon') 21, fig. 4.

It is important to examine carefully what Overbeck says in reference to this Delian statue of Apollo. For, in the first place, he suggests that there was a copy at Delphi; and, in the next place, he rightly explains the passage in Philo, which, so far as we are aware, no one else has done. Overbeck refers (*ib.*, p. 21) to a scholion on Pindar (*Ol.* 14, 16) as follows: παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνί φησι καθέζεσθαι τὰς Χάριτας διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότητα· ἐν γοῦν Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰσιν ἰδρυμένοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. This suggests a Delphic copy

<sup>1</sup> In the French translation of Philo made by Arnauld d'Andilly, and bound up with the works of Josephus under date 1667 A.D., Apollo 'tenoit les flèches en sa main gauche et faisoit des largesses de la main droite.' This French rendering of Philo, *ad Gaium*, is done into English and attached to the Edinburgh edition of the works of Josephus in 1715 A.D.: 'With his right hand he distributed largesses among the people.'

In an earlier French translation (Paris, 1612 A.D.), made by Pierre Bellier and corrected by Fed. Morel, we have Apollo 'présentant de la main droite les graces . . . les biens.'

or the Delian statue, but it may be merely an error on the part of the scholiast or copyist who confused Delphi and Delos. Overbeck further is of opinion that Macrobius (*Sat.* I. 17, 13) and Philo (*ad Gaium, ut supra*) refer to this very Delian statue. Macrobius' language is as follows: 'ideo Apollinis simulacra manu dextra Gratias gestant, arcum cum sagittis sinistra'; and it is interesting to observe that in citation of Philo he gives the correct form with *Χάριτας* for *χάριτας*. It is curious that Overbeck in his earlier archaeological study known as *Schriftquellen* (Leipzig, 1868, p. 58) does not quote the passage from Philo among the sources for Tektaios and Angelion. So we may infer that he detected the allusion at some time between 1868 and 1889. In any case he has anticipated our correction and interpretation, though it does not appear to have been generally recognised.

Miss Jane Harrison in *Themis* has referred to the Delian statue of Apollo in the following terms (p. 389): 'A bronze coin of Athens shows us in the field a copy of the cultus statue of Apollo made by Tektaios and Angelion for the sanctuary at Delos (see Pausanias IX. 35. 3). Apollo holds on his outstretched hand three figures, whom we may call Moirae, Horae, Charites as we will.' Miss Harrison admits that Pausanias calls it a statue of Apollo and the Charites, and as Philo says the same thing, it is superfluous to introduce the Moirae or the Horae. As Theocritus would say: *ἀεὶ Χάριτ' ἔσσω ἄμ' ἔλθην*. Miss Harrison also reproduces in part Overbeck's enlargement of the Delian coin type.

The cross-references in the foregoing article will show my habitual dependence on the learning and charity of Mr. A. B. Cook.

RENDEL HARRIS.

### SOME TRAPS IN PERSIUS' FIRST SATIRE.

ANCIENT books in general, being shorter than most modern ones, are meant to be read with closer attention; and this is especially true of the six satires which are the whole literary output of an exceedingly clever young man with a taste for writing and a head full of somewhat old-fashioned learning. My excuse for adding to the flood of comment which drowns the *unus liber* is that I think the editors from Casaubon onwards have missed several neat points:<sup>1</sup>

(a) I. 32:

Hic aliquis, cui circum umeros hyacinthia laena  
est,  
rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus,  
Phyllidas Hypsipylas, uatum et plorabile si  
quid,  
eliquat, et tenero supplantat uerba palato.

Neméthy's note sums up what others say at greater length: *Poeta oblique perstringere uidetur ineptos Ouidii imitatores*. This, as far as it goes, is quite

right. But why Phyllis and Hypsipyle in particular? Canace and Phaedra, for example, are quite as *plorabiles*, and have, from Persius' point of view, the further advantage of being much more immoral. The reason I think is to be found in the emphasis laid on the reciter's affected foreign (as our grandfathers would have perhaps said, Frenchified) pronunciation. Good honest Latin is too coarse for his tender mouth. Now to the Roman exquisites, as we may gather from Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* XII. 10, 27), the letters which gave Greek its inimitable sweetness were *v* and *φ*. Persius has been at some trouble to find two names which, while satisfying the general requirement of belonging to lachrymose Ovidian heroines, contained the former letter three times between them, once in conjunction with the latter. Eriphyle would have been a strong candidate, but was not amative enough.

<sup>1</sup> Besides Conington-Nettlehip and Jahn I have used the commentaries of Casaubon (ed. tert., 1647), Wedderburn (1664), Scaesius (1690), Koenig (1803), Plum (1827), Neméthy (1903), Pretor (1907), and van Wageningen (1911).

I. 76:

'Est nunc Brisaei quem uenosus liber Acci,  
sunt quos Pacuiusque et uerrucosa moretur  
Antiopa, aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta?'  
hos pueris monitus patres infundere lippos

cum uideas, quaerisne unde haec sartago  
loquendi  
uenerit in linguas, unde istud dedecus in quo  
trossulus exsultat tibi per subsellia leuis?

I believe that the above lines should be so punctuated. Hermann and Owen are right in putting a question mark after *fulsa* in the Teubner and Oxford texts respectively, but everyone from Casaubon down seems to think that Persius is attacking the archaisers of his day. But it is Juvenal and not Persius who confines his attention to those who are safely buried. Horace had an archaising school to attack and to defend himself against; archaising began again about Quintilian's time, as the passages here quoted by Koenig show. But Rome in Persius' day was all for Seneca and the new school of style. Who then can be criticising Accius and Pacuvius so savagely, and with such a far-fetched epithet as *Brisaeus*, but the leading literary authorities of the day, the 'purblind fathers'? *Hos monitus* is not *monitus de his*, as Conington says, but 'the

above dicta.' Persius is rather fond of referring to something just mentioned with *hic*, as in 96, *arma uirum, non hoc spumosum*, 'isn't that old *Aeneid* a fluffy piece of work'? The sense is therefore: 'When their masters and pastors tell the schoolboys that the classics are rubbish (poor blind leaders of the blind!), is it any wonder that our modern style is as the crackling of thorns under a pot?'

*Trossulus exsultat*. The editors explain this adequately enough so far as the meaning goes, but neither here nor in 20 (*cum carmina lumbum / intrant, et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima uersu*) do I find any mention of an interesting feature of the style, its patent imitation of Aristophanes; and yet Horace's *hinc omnis pendet Lucilius* and Persius' own glorification of the latter might have given the clue. In both these passages a hint has been taken from the *Acharnians*; see for the latter *Ach.* 444, ὅπως ἀν' αὐτοὺς ῥηματίους σκιμαλίσω; and for the former *ibid.* 638, ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων ἐκάθησθε.

H. J. ROSE.

#### A MISUNDERSTOOD PASSAGE IN MARTIAL.

THE lines in Martial, *Epigr.* IV. 64, 16,

et quod uirgineo cruore gaudet  
Annae pomiferum nemus Perennae,

have long been regarded as a crux. Friedländer in his note on the passage speaks of the 'gewiss verdorbenen Worte *uirgineo cruore*,' and praises Munro's emendation *uirgine nequiore*, which would, indeed, be a good one, if any were needed. This, and Heinsius' *uirgineo rubore*, allude to the *puellae* who, according to Ovid, *Fast.* III, 675, sang indecent songs at the goddess' festival. Assmann<sup>1</sup> suggested *Virgineo liquore*, 'water of the Aqua Virgo' (cf. Ovid, *ex Ponto*, I. 8, 38). This last I think nearest the mark, since it makes Martial describe the grove, and not the goddess herself or her holy day, which would surely require *quae* rather than *quod*. But it is as needless as the rest.

Keeping the reading of the MSS.,

the disputed words must have one of three conceivable meanings:

(1) That a virgin or virgins were at some time sacrificed there (*gaudet* excludes the possibility of the grove having been the scene of a crime or accident). But we have no cogent proof that human sacrifice existed in the ritual of any *indiges*, and, in particular, none whatever that Anna Perenna was worshipped in this fashion. The silence of Ovid and of the Christian apologists may be taken as conclusive on this point.

(2) That sexual licence prevailed at Anna's festival. This derives some support from the meaning which *uirgineus cruor* has in two of the three passages in which the phrase occurs (see *Thesaurus*, 1245. 44) outside this epigram — namely, Claudian 14, 27 (= *Fescennina*, 116), and Ausonius, *Cento nuptialis*, 118. But the fact that the latter passage is a travesty of Vergil, *Aen.* XI. 804, shows that it is the con-

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, 1905 (LX.), 4, *Miscellen*.

text, not any inherent meaning of the phrase itself, which gives it that sense. Martial has nothing to indicate that particular meaning.

(3) The following is, I think, the only possible rendering, since it alone is in any way indicated by the context. Martial says that the grove, not the goddess, *gaudet*, a word which suggests vegetable fertility (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* IX. 48, *astrum quo segetes gauderent frugibus*). He reinforces this by saying that it was *pomiferum*, planted with trees which yielded fruit. If we turn to Columella X. 357 ff., we find the following charm recommended when insect plagues are particularly troublesome :

at si nulla ualet medicina repellere pestem,  
Dardanicae ueniunt artes, nudataque plantas  
femina, quae iustis tum demum operata iuuentae  
legibus obscaeno manat pudibunda cruore, e.q.s.

He directs that she should walk three times around the garden, with her hair and garments loosened, whereat all the caterpillars will fall dead. The language (for this meaning of *cruor* see *Thesaurus*, 1243. 75), and the insistence on the operator being a girl just arrived at puberty<sup>1</sup> (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* XXVIII. 79), agree very well with Martial. The same rite, or one very like it, is described again by Columella XI. 3, 64; also by Pliny XVII. 266 and XXVIII. 78; Palladius, *de re rustica*, I. 35, 3;

<sup>1</sup> See Frazer, *G.B.*<sup>3</sup> X., pp. 76 ff.

Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* VI. 36; and Apuleius in the *Geoponica*, XII. 8, 5-6. It could be used for trees as well as smaller plants. Columella, who in the passage quoted calls it a 'Dardanic' (? Phrygian) practice, and in the other cites a work, *περὶ ἀντιπαθῶν*, attributed to Demokritos,<sup>2</sup> as his authority; and Pliny, who, on the authority of Metrodorus of Skepsis, tells us that it was invented in Kappadokia, prove clearly that it was not native Italian. It is therefore hardly possible that it had anything to do with the ancient and popular festival of March 15.

Martial then alludes to some occasion on which the authorities in charge of the grove had had it charmed against insects in this manner. No doubt the event was recent, and had excited the curiosity or amusement of his circle of acquaintances at Rome, for whom the epigram was primarily intended. No emendation is necessary. The language is clear enough to anyone acquainted with that particular bit of magic; and the difficulties which commentators have felt arise from not recollecting the passages quoted above and from trying to find an allusion to the ritual of the goddess, of which Martial says nothing.

H. J. ROSE.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Bolos Demokritos or Demokriteios. See J. Röhr, *Der okkulte Kraftbegriff im Altertum* (*Philologus, Suppl.*, XVII., 1, 1923), p. 34 ff.

### MYCENAEAN CORINTH.

IN his last statement on this subject—in *C.R.* XXXVII. 65 f.—Dr. Leaf finds that the archaeologists have introduced 'a new terminology which only confuses the points at issue,' and affirms that, in spite of Dr. Blegen's refutation in the *A.J.A.* for 1920, his thesis 'holds the field.' The archaeologists concerned will no doubt vindicate their terminology in due course, but an examination of the grounds given in *Homer and History* will show that the hold the thesis had was extremely precarious, even before archaeology made its protest.

The origin of the new theory appears to have been a passage in the *Encycl.*

*Brit.* VII. 150 (referred to in *H. and H.* 213) to the effect that, in the excavation undertaken by the American School in 1896 on the site of classical Corinth, the vases and fragments found were of nearly every age but the Mycenaean. The reference should have added that, though the excavation took place in the most important part of the city, it was only in 'a small part.' The value of this limited investigation, compared with the exploration of the Corinthia by the same School during recent years, can be estimated by anyone who has read Dr. Blegen's paper in the *A.J.A.* and his *Korakou* (reviewed in *C.R.* XXXVII. 71 ff.).

But Dr. Leaf had a positive argument. There was a Corinth, he admitted, in pre-Mycenaean and in post-Mycenaean days, but, strange as it may seem, there was none in the Mycenaean period itself. He even asserted that Corinth could not have existed then, because there was no trade with the West, and without such trade there could be no Corinth. And there was no such trade because the Achaeans were prevented by the Taphians, whom Dr. Leaf locates in Corfu and describes as a 'remarkable people, whose hand was heavy from Sidon to Thesprotia' (*H. and H.* 172). On this point I refer to *C.R.* XXX. 82 f. Here it is only necessary to recall two considerations which effectually condemn the notion. We are asked to believe that the Taphians could come south from Corfu and ravage the coasts of the Achaean Emperor and roam far beyond to the East, while the Emperor's ships meekly accepted their exclusion from the waters of the West. Such a state of things is incredible. And there was no hint quoted from history or tradition of the existence of this great rival maritime power in the north. The Homeric evidence shows the Taphians were merely freebooters, like other tribes of the time.

The possibility of trade through the Isthmus between north and south was not regarded. In *C.R.* XXXII. 7 ff. I ventured to argue for the existence of such a trade, and Dr. Blegen now tells us, on p. 8 of his paper in the *A.J.A.*, that his explorations have proved the importance and prosperity of the Corinthia throughout the whole Bronze Age, and that Corinth was an intermediate station on a great trade-route from the south to the north—'a route leading from the Argolid, from the Aegean, and even from Crete to the Isthmus, and thence across the Corinthian Gulf to Thisbe, whence it proceeded overland to Thebes and Orchomenos.' This would be a sufficient *raison d'être* for Corinth in Mycenaean days, but no reason—except the Taphians—has been given for denying trade with the West also. In the note on p. 2 of *C.R.* XXXII. I quoted some authorities for the existence of such a trade, but here again there is good evidence from the American excava-

tions. Dr. Blegen adds that 'relations with the West are also evident, and grow progressively stronger towards the end of the Bronze Age.' The extent of the trade in the latest Helladic period—1400-1100 B.C.—is proved in his *Korakou*. We have to choose between positive results and Dr. Leaf's picture of an uninhabited and uninhabitable Corinthia.

The only trade that Dr. Leaf admitted in the Mycenaean period was 'the trifling coasting traffic of the Gulf itself and the Four Islands at the mouth of it' (*H. and H.* 212). How it can be pronounced only trifling does not appear. Dr. Blegen, on the contrary, says it 'must certainly have been considerable and very profitable.' Dr. Leaf goes on to say that, for commerce to the small extent he alleges, Sikyon would have supplied the necessary accommodation. It was, he says, doubtless a place of extreme antiquity, and 'why should settlers leave it for the barren plateau a few miles away which afforded nothing whatever?' The notion of a barren, utterly unattractive Corinthia cannot be accepted (Dr. Blegen's paper, 10 ff., and *cf.* *C.R.* XXXII. 4). And the main point made, that Sikyon was occupied before the Corinthia, and that the latter remained unoccupied because of the disabilities of its terrain and climate, may be confidently rejected. It is clear from the recent explorations—see *e.g.* *Korakou*, 123—that the Corinthia was inhabited from neolithic times, and even if we allow that Sikyon had a start in still earlier days, that is of no importance for present purposes.

The climate of the Corinthia was painted by Dr. Leaf—on the authority of Philippson—in colours so drab that one was compelled to ask how he could believe it was inhabited in any age. Dr. Blegen characterises the description as 'much distorted and exaggerated.' Dr. Leaf now replies that Dr. Blegen must settle the matter with Philippson, and that it is not necessary to his argument. That being so, it is difficult to understand why the climate was dragged in at all. The argument from it could have been of use only if pushed to the point of alleging that conditions were good in the pre-Mycenaean period,



good again in the post-Mycenaean, but intolerable in the interval between the two.

The mention of *Kórwθος* in N 664 was a difficulty which was met by excising the passage as spurious. On that point I refer to C.R. XXXII. 2. The episode is 'destitute of any organic connexion with what precedes or follows,' and introduces 'an otherwise wholly unknown hero, who appears only to be killed.' So Dr. Leaf hoped he would not 'shock the strictest unitarian if he said' (begging the question) 'that the mention of the name showed that this episode was post-Achaian.' The reason given and the pleasantry are quite unconvincing. Better grounds must be produced. The episode extends from line 660 to 672, and its connexion with what precedes is 'organic' enough, unless that word is taken to mean absolutely inseparable, and the havoc that the strictest, or even an ordinarily strict, dissector could work on the Homeric text with a canon of that sort can easily be imagined. I note that in the Introduction to N in his edition of the *Iliad* Dr. Leaf says the narrative of the book up to 672 'flows smoothly.' The want of organic connexion appears when it is wanted.

The argument from the observation of an old critic that *Kórwθος* is the name the poet uses, and *Ἐφύρη* the one used by his *πρόσωπα*, is futile when examined. Dr. Leaf makes the most of it when he says (*H. and H.* 216) 'in the mouth of his (Homer's) characters it is always Ephyre.' Always! One character, Glaukos, uses the name—only twice—in one episode, referring to the place as the abode of Sisyphus, who preceded the speaker by four generations. There was plenty of time for a change of name. Dr. Leaf suggests that when Corinth, the 'new settlement,' took over the legend of Bellerophon, it got it from the nearest Sikyonian town, Ephyre. But that is mere speculation; no authority is quoted for connecting Bellerophon with Sikyon. In the long article on the hero in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I do not think the place is mentioned.

It is an essential part of Dr. Leaf's theory that in Mycenaean days the place of Corinth was taken by the

Homeric Ephyre (*H. and H.* 217, and C.R. XXXVI. 55). Where then was this Ephyre? Dr. Leaf thought of the Ephyre on the Selleis in the territory of Sikyon (*περὶ Σικυῶνα*) mentioned by Strabo, and again suggested the possibility that it was situated in one of the little plains in the mountains to the south of the Corinthia, but he was not satisfied with either position. He has now found the Ephyre in the modern Aetopetra, one of the sites described by Dr. Blegen. But Aetopetra, only some two miles from Corinth and some eight from Sikyon—*cf.* Dr. Leaf's quotation from Dr. Wace in C.R. XXXII. 135—and outside what was Sikyonia, cannot possibly be Strabo's Ephyre. It would involve bringing the Selleis from Sikyon and making it the present-day Longopotamo, which is a stream east of the river Nemea—the ancient boundary between Sikyonia and Corinthia—and consequently well within the latter territory (see p. 10 of Dr. Blegen's paper, with note). No other Ephyre has been heard of in the countryside except the Ephyre of the sixth *Iliad* which was always accepted in antiquity as the later Corinth. Mr. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of the Ships*, 65n, gives some of the authorities for the old belief that Ephyre was Corinth, and observes that Simonides, Fr. 84, seems to suggest that Ephyre was Acrocorinthus. Dr. Leaf is pleased (C.R. XXXVI. 55) that Aetopetra had an acropolis. But the Acrocorinthus shows Cyclopean remains (Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii. 30), so honours are easy. The Acrocorinthus must surely have been a fortified stronghold from very early days.

The ancient tradition that the Ephyre in question was the later Corinth was not, I think, questioned before *Homer and History* appeared. In that book tradition is of little account. Ithaka goes to Leukas, Taphos to Corfu, Corfu to Crete. It is the *κύκησις* of old conditions that Dr. Leaf imputes to his own 'Cataloguer.' We had better keep the tradition in the present case. Further investigation may supply a reason for the change of name. It may be, as the Catalogue shows that Sikyon and Ephyre were formerly independent (Monro's note on B 572 and his paper in the *Eng. Hist. Review* I.), that the

change took place on or after the addition of Ephyre to the realm of Mycenae. But, however that may be, the tradition must stand till good reason is shown for disregarding it. Such reason has still to be discovered. The theory that there was no Corinth in Mycenaean days is one of a number

of novelties in the three Dominion chapters of *Homer and History*. This particular novelty is a novelty based on a novelty, to wit, the maritime empire of the Taphians. But for the reasons given I think we may still preserve our belief in the *Κόρινθος* of the Catalogue and its epithet *ἀφνειός*.

A. SHEWAN.

NOTE ON HORACE, *ODES* III. 26,  
ll. 6-8.

Hic hic ponite lucida  
Funalia et vectes et arcus  
Oppositis foribus minaces.

THE key to the understanding of this passage may be obtained on application to Mr. G. P. Bidder, who has suggested that 'arcus' here means 'bow-drill'.<sup>1</sup> In support of this rendering Mr. Bidder adduces, besides some indirect evidence, an illustration of an Egyptian drill,<sup>2</sup> and a Greek trepanning instrument which appears to have been strung like a bow.<sup>3</sup>

To complete this chain of evidence we require an instance of an artisan's bow-drill in classical antiquity. Several such instances may be given.

(1) On an Attic black-figure vase representing a smithy (Baumgartner, Poland, Wagner, *Die hellenische Kultur*, 3rd ed., p. 276, fig. 255; Hellenic Society's Slide No. 6185).

(2) On a Greek vase at Petrograd (Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie*, II., p. 226, No. 43b).<sup>4</sup>

(3) On a Pompeian fresco (*ibid.* No. 43c).

(4) On a glass vase in the Catacombs (*ibid.* No. 43d).

(5) On a Roman gravestone (*ibid.* No. 43e).

Here we have definite proof that the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with the common bow-drill. We need not doubt therefore that, as Mr. Bidder surmises, Horace's Roman readers at once knew what he meant by 'arcus.'

M. CARY.

CICERO, *DE ORATORE*, I. 225.

Eripite nos ex miseriis, eripite ex faucibus eorum quorum crudelitas nostro sanguine non potest expleri.

It is a pity that Doederlein's silly insertion of *nisi* before *nostro* still is allowed to mar the pages of the Oxford text. Either Crassus was

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Philology*, No. 69, pp. 113-127.

<sup>2</sup> For other Egyptian examples see Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, Pl. XLIII. No. 13 (Twelfth Dynasty), and No. 14 (Eighteenth Dynasty).

<sup>3</sup> Exhibited in Table-Case H in the Room of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. For a reconstruction of this instrument, see Dr. Caton in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1914, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> This illustration confirms Dr. Caton's reconstruction of the surgical drill.

ahead of his age in the matter of rhythm, or Cicero has improved his cadences for him, for the colometry of the sentence is strongly and effectively marked—

eripitē nōs | ēx mīseriis (M 3<sup>14</sup>),  
eripite ēx | fauciībūs (L 2<sup>12</sup>),  
eorum quōrū crū | dēlītās (V 2)  
nostro sanguine nōn pōtēst | ēxplēri (S 2).

*Nostro*, then, has all the emphasis which naturally attaches to the first word of a colon, and the stressing of it, which Wilkins, in his note on the passage, says is necessary to make sense of the MS. reading, is inevitable. Doederlein's reading makes Crassus appeal to the mob thus: 'Stop those wretches, or they will murder (not you, but) your betters.' What Crassus said was: 'Stop them, or they will begin by cutting *our* throats and then . . .' It needs no profound knowledge of rhetoric or psychology to judge which is the more effective before any assemblage of average voters, ancient or modern.

H. J. ROSE.

EURIPIDES, *ORESTES*, 1411-1416.

ταπεινοί  
ἐξόνθ' ὁ μὲν τὸ κείθεν, ὁ δὲ  
τὸ κείθεν, ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν πεφραγμένοι.  
περὶ δὲ γόνυ χέρας ἰκεταῖος  
ἐβαλον ἐβαλον Ἑλένας ἀμφω.

*πεφραγμένοι* is variously, but by no one satisfactorily, interpreted. The scholia have the glosses *ὥπλισμένοι* or *πεφραγμένοι* *ξίφεσιν*, without explaining whether they have in view weapons of offence or defence. Weil's 'se tenant sur leurs gardes' contemplates, I presume, the latter, and so clearly Mr. Wedd, quoting Soph. fr. 426 *ἀσπιδίτην ὄντα καὶ πεφραγμένον*, where the influence of *ἀσπιδίτην* extends to the participle. But the whole context declares that the speaker sees treachery in the attitude of the pretended suppliants, and fears for his mistress's life. Hence Coleridge renders 'with weapons on them,' which, though the meaning might suit, is scarcely to be gathered from the Greek. Paley's 'hemmed in by the attendant eunuchs' gives the attendants undeserved credit: they were only too anxious to escape (1416 ff.). Lastly, Mr. Wedd gives, as an alternative, 'hemming her in,' which is not very apt even if linguistically justifiable.

Recently, when looking through some of Richard Shilleto's books, which were acquired after his death by the Cambridge University Library, I found the following note on *πεφραγμένοι*: 'an *δεδραγμένοι*? cf. *Troad*. 752 [τί μου

δεδραξαι χερσὶ κἀντέχῃ πέπλων;], vv. lect. Soph. *Antigon.* 235. There can be no doubt that Shilleto's divination found the truth. δεδραγμένοι gives exactly the sense required: 'clutching her from either side,' and the textual history of *Ant.* 235 makes the conjecture certain. In Sophocles δεδραγμένος, now universally accepted, has the support of Paris A, the old scholia, and some *recentiores*, whereas L with some *recentiores* gives πεπραγμένος, and by further corruption πεφραγμένος appears in others. Shilleto's conjecture was based on the variation πεφραγμένοι: δεδραγμένοι, but there is nothing to show that he realised how the variant arose. Yet it seems clear, as I pointed out in the *Proceedings of the Camb. Philol. Soc.*, 1922, p. 15, giving examples, and in particular Suid. δεδραγμένος· πεπραγμένος, that πεπραγμένος was a gloss on δεδρα(γ)μένος, and πεφραγμένος a conjecture or a blunder.

A. C. PEARSON.

### TERTULLIAN DE BAPT. 5.

#### SANCTIFIED BY DROWNING.

TERTULL. DE BAPT. 5: *annon et alias sine ullo sacramento immundi spiritus aquis incubant, adfectantes illam in primordio divini spiritus gestationem? sciunt opaci quique fontes et avii quique rivi et in balneis piscinae et euripi in domibus vel cisternae et putei qui rapere dicuntur, scilicet per vim spiritus nocentis. nam et tesietos et lymphaticos et hydrophobos vocant quos aquae necaverunt aut amentia vel formidine exercuerunt.* It is superfluous to mention all the conjectures put forward to correct *esietos* (nor is the last one, suggested by E. Maass in his interesting article, *Archiv für Rel.wiss.* XXI., 1922, 259, better than the others). The text of Tertullian has excellently preserved a rather rare word: you only have to write *a* instead of *o*. The word shows that he is just as intimate with magic as the other great African author from the second century, the Numidian Apuleius (the numerous magical tablets found in these regions show that the interest taken in magic was just as great then as nowadays in Northern Africa). According to the text of Tertullian those 'killed by the waters' are opposite to those 'driven by insanity or fear.' Doubtless we should write *Esietas* (if not *Esteios*), and derive this word from the Greco-Egyptian *Esies*, 'Εσις, now well known to us

from the magical papyri. As to deification by drowning in the Nile, see Griffith in *Aegypt. Zeitschr.* XLVI. 132. The drowned were sacred according to the Egyptian belief, familiar to us from Herod. II. 90, and verified by numerous statements in inscriptions, papyri, and other texts. The following quotations are commonly known: Pap. Bibl. Nat. (Paris), l. 875, ελθέ μοι ὁ γενάμενος Ἐσις καὶ ποταμοφόρητος; and Pap. Lond. XLVI. 259, ὑποκαύτω ὅσῳ Ἐσιούς. The *esia*, *id.* CXXI. 315, is doubtful. We may now add besides the passage from Tertullian, as most important, Pap. Mimaout, col. I. 1 ff., where the original has this text (cp. the new edition of this papyrus which is to appear in the near future in the papers of our Academy in Kristiania):

λαβὼν ἔλουργον . . . ἦσον (= ποιήσον?) Ἐσιήν  
ε . . . γω  
.. ως [ . . . ] τὸ ὄδωρ / [π]νυτ' Ἐσις. λέγε εἰς τ[ὴν πν]αῖ-  
[ξι]ν, λόγος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πνίξεως· δεῦρ[ό] μοι  
ἐπὶ τῆς μορφῆς σου τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου, ὁ ἐ[λ]ουργο-  
πρ[ό]σωπος θεός, κ[αί] . . . δέ σου τὴν μορφῆν τοῖς (δεῖνα)  
ἀδ[ι]κουμένην ὑπὸ τ[ῶν] ἀντιδίκων σου τ[ῶν] (δεῖνα),

etc. L. 10 is to be read in this way: τ[ῶν] (δεῖνα) ὅτι ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τῶν [σ]ῶν ὄν[ομα]-  
των | ἰαω | αρβα[θι]αω βα[ιν]χ[ωω] χ . . . β . . . . In line 43 this apostrophe is yet clearer: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, τῶν πάντων πνίξεω[ν]  
.. (θεὰ?) γ[ενέ]τειρα, etc., and still more so in l. 90, where (in spite of Wessely's text) we should read: συντέλεσόν μοι τοῦτο τὸ (δεῖνα) πρᾶγμα  
ἐπὶ τῇ μορφῇ σου / ὁ ἐ[λ]ουργοπρ[ό]σωπος ἄγγελος. In our papyrus the Ἐσις is identified with Bastet (Bubastis), which is furthermore identified with the Sun (l. 97, λαμπρὸς ἥλιος, l. 142) and the Sun-boat.

On the other hand we have the 'holy cow,' Ἐσις = ἡστ, see Spiegelberg in *Orient. Literaturztg.* XXIII. 260; and lastly H. I. Bell in his article, 'Hellenic Culture in Egypt,' *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* VIII., 1922, 144. Apparently this *Hesīs* = Hathor; 'Aphrodite' is meant in Pap.

Lond. CXXI. 385, λέγε ἐπτάκις· κανωπι, etc.,  
ερατευν μορφῆς χάρις φαφιεγί εισιω βουβαστι  
ποθωπι. Everything suits an 'Aphrodite'; but then the 'Bubastis' here mentioned once more includes the Bastet, which gives us matter for further consideration (cp. Wilcken in his *Archiv f. Pap.* VI. 386).

S. EITREM.

Kristiania.

## REVIEWS

### HORACE AND HIS INFLUENCE.

*Horace and his Influence.* By GRANT SHOWERMAN, Professor of Classics, University of Wisconsin. One vol. 7½" × 4¾". Pp. xvii + 176. London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1922. 5s. THIS is a contribution of real value to the series of *Our Debt to Greece and*

*Rome* in which it appears. The object of the series is, as stated by the editors, 'to shew the influence of virtually all of the great forces of the Greek and Roman civilisations upon subsequent life and thought and the extent to which these are interwoven into the fabric of

our own life of to-day.' There are many ways of working towards this object, each with its special advantages and its special risks. The forces in question are to some extent indefinable (or at least unclassifiable) and imponderable. As in other matters, too close insistence on the practical—or what even might be called the commercial—value of the classics may tend to defeat its own purpose by the introduction of what are really irrelevant issues. On the other hand, there may be over-insistence on matters which are part of archaeological study or of literary history rather than of actual appreciation. Each contributor to such a series has his own personal equation. And there is the further difficulty in combining their contributions, so far at least as these deal with Greek and Latin writers, that much of what is to be said about any one classic (using that word in its authentic and highest meaning) is in substance if not in words applicable to them all. This portion of the field cannot be quite delimited or parcelled out. There must be some cross-division, there must even be some repetition. To take Latin literature alone, it may be handled as a whole, or as it culminates in one or another of its chief masters, in prose or in poetry. It may be treated in varying degrees with reference to the life and civilisation of which it was at once an index and a product; to the general progress of human culture; to its educative value; or to its direct influence on the thought and expression of later times down to our own day.

Those responsible for the planning of the series have, as is quite right, cast their net widely. It includes, or will include, volumes taking a wide survey alongside of others handling individual classics in greater detail and more searchingly. The title of one of the former, *Roman Poetry and its Influence upon European Culture*, leaves it uncertain whether it is to be regarded as summing up, or as prefacing, or possibly as replacing, those on Catullus, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid. But clearly these latter must, in order to be effective, go beyond the immediate professed purpose of the series, and be studies or appreciations of the per-

manent quality of the poets with whom they deal. The 'debt to Rome' will in fact be, in each case, estimable only in terms of a universal or standard currency.

No exception can be taken to this, if the position is fully realised and frankly acknowledged. There is room for them all, so long as they do not unduly multiply words on a subject which can best be commended to the world by something of the classical spirit of proportion and reticence. But some inevitable risk remains of the writer in each case planning out his own book with a certain fluctuation, that may amount to confusion, between the broader and more specialised methods of treatment. The editorial preface observes, quite truly, that the significance of Horace to the twentieth century will gain in clarity from an understanding of his meaning to other days. But what this amounts to is that the volume should not, or need not, differ materially from a critical and historical study of Horace. Professor Showerman has steered his course in these difficult waters with skill; if he comes short, perhaps, of bringing the convergent issues into full unity, this is not meant as an adverse criticism, or as belittling what he has actually done. He has made his subject interesting. All those who read it will be stimulated to make, or to renew, their acquaintance with Horace himself; and they will do so with fresh appreciation.

In the first place, he has wisely cut away most of the common-form top-hamper which encumbers many studies of classical authors. He has dispensed with a biography of Horace, only giving a few pages to the more striking circumstances of his life and to the historical background of his age. Then, in some sixty pages, he sets forth what may be called the substance of Horace's poetry, largely by careful and ingenious tessellation of quotation and comment, so as to bring out his quality as a spectator and interpreter of nature and life. His own comment is often both brief and illuminating: 'he is almost as objective to himself as the landscape of the Sabine farm'; 'his definition of pleasure is not without austerity'; 'the

precipitate of experience called wisdom.' It is difficult for any one who has known and loved Horace for many years to put himself back into the position of a reader for whom this book will be an introduction to the unknown. But however little anything said about the classics can do towards inducing a larger public to read the classics for themselves, what is said in these pages is well said. Hardly anyone could read them without some conviction that Horace himself must be worth reading, and without some desire to read him.

The second section of the volume, 'Horace through the Ages,' is in a different key; and some of it is of doubtful relevance. It is as if Professor Showerman had wished to put in material that he had by him, or had felt subconsciously that it became a Professor of Classics to give some evidence of his own research. The historical sketch he gives, while it does not and cannot traverse so vast a ground otherwise than sketchily, goes here and there, as one may think, and as the enemy will pretty certainly say, into needless or even tiresome detail. Of what interest is it to me, one can fancy a reader saying, or what bearing has it on modern life, that in the eighteenth century 'Gottsched of Leipzig, 1700-66, and Breitinge of Zurich, confess Horace as master of the art of poetry'; or that three pages should be taken up with a summary of the long list of Spanish translations collected by the laborious industry of Menéndez y Pelayo? Is not this irrelevant and pedantic? What I want to know is, what Horace meant and means to civilisation, to the conduct and beauty and joy of life.

From this historical circuit or digression Professor Showerman returns, in a shorter third section, to his main issue, under the rather unhappy subtitle of 'Horace the Dynamic.' These pages contain much that is finely felt and well expressed: one may note the vindication (p. 129) of 'the work of the few' which saves the world from collapse into barbarism; the point (p. 156) that Horace 'is more than merely personal, he is sincere and un-

reserved,' and that it is thus that 'he makes us feel ourselves partakers with him in the criticism of life'; and the summing-up (p. 168) that 'to know Horace is to enter into a great communion of twenty centuries.' But it was a mistake in tact to cite Horatian parodies, English or American, as proofs of 'inspiration' drawn from Horace: as it is a graver mistake in appreciation to speak of the 'light Odes'—among which he includes such masterpieces as the *Quis multa gracilis*, the *O fons Bandusiae*, the *Faune nympharum*—as 'merely *jeux d'esprit*.' These at least, and others in the list, are much, are infinitely, more than that; they are exquisite poetry of a high order.

Perhaps the attempt to popularise the classics by diluting and dilating on them, like the practice of translating them with the same object, can be overdriven. In a review of a recent volume of this kind on the Greek Anthology, we are told that 'a reader unable to go to the Greek will obtain a very fair idea of the contents of the Anthology by reading what the author has to say about them, and his versions.' To have a very fair idea of the contents of a poem or a volume of poems may be, for certain purposes, useful. But it does not touch the heart of the matter. Nor do English versions of Greek or Latin poems; the less so, the more classic the poems are, the more, that is to say, their 'contents' and their form as authentic masterpieces of art are inseparable. To translate Horace is a perpetual lure; 'no author from among the classics,' as Professor Showerman observes truly, 'has been so frequently translated': but the thing cannot be done. Professor Showerman himself has here offered some English renderings of his own; of nine complete Odes (I. v., x., xxiii., xxxi., II. vi., xiv., III. vi., xiii., xxx.), and of parts of about as many others: and even, greatly daring, prints his own version of I. v. opposite Milton's, which he thinks ponderous. His object, he says, is 'to communicate the Horatian airiness'; and this is how he manages it: had Horace written thus, it would certainly have been vain to blame and useless to praise him.

Deluded lad ! How oft he'll weep  
 O'er changèd gods ! How oft, when dark  
 The billows roughen on the deep,  
 Storm-tossed he'll see his wretched bark !  
 Unused to Cupid's quick mutations,  
 In store for him what tribulations !

In the Milton, by an unfortunate slip, he prints *hopeless* for *hapless* : and earlier (p. 21) there is a strange misquotation of a famous passage in Gray's *Progress of Poesy*. A few points may here be suggested for reconsideration in any re-issue of the book. No proof is offered of the questionable assertion (p. 75) that 'Virgil contains passages disclosing a more than ordinary familiarity with Horace's work.' To say that 'at the beginning of the thirteenth century in Italy, nowhere but at Bologna and Rome was Latin taught except as the elementary instruction necessary to the study of civil and canonical law' is a statement by which any ordinary reader would be either puzzled or misled. And it should not be necessary to point out that, whatever Shakespeare may have

done in the way of retouching *Titus Andronicus*, the scene in which the quotation from Horace occurs (p. 123) is certainly not from Shakespeare's hand.

Finally, one may quote and commend to attention the following admirable passage, which holds good for England and America alike, as indeed for the whole modern world :

'As for the influence exerted by Horace upon society at large through generation after generation of school-boys, its depth and breadth cannot be measured. It may be greatly appreciated, however, by those who realise from their own experience, both as pupils and teachers, the effect upon growing and impressionable minds of a literature rich in morality and patriotism, and who reflect upon the greater amplitude of literary instruction among the ancients, by whom a Homer, a Virgil, or a Horace was made the vehicle of discipline so broad and varied as to be an education in itself.'

J. W. MACKAIL.

## TWO BOOKS ON ANCIENT WARFARE.

*Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onasander.* With an English Translation by Members of the Illinois Greek Club (Loeb Classical Library). Pp. x+532. London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923. Cloth, 10s. net.

*Warfare by Land and Sea.* By EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY, Ph.D. Pp. xix+206. Four illustrations. London, Calcutta, Sydney: Harrap, 1923. 5s.

THE first of these volumes is a valuable addition to the Loeb Library. In its preparation many members of the Faculty Greek Club of the University of Illinois have borne part, but Mr. W. A. Oldfather has evidently been the guiding spirit. It comprises the text of each author, and of the excerpts from Aeneas in Julius Africanus, with critical apparatus, some explanatory notes, and English translations; and an introduction and bibliography to each author, the bibliography to Onasander being especially full. Mr. W. A. Oldfather is responsible for the texts

and critical apparatus, the introductions to Aeneas and Onasander, and (jointly with Mr. C. H. Oldfather) for the introduction to and translation of Asclepiodotus, with a list of technical terms; the translation of Onasander is by Messrs. A. S. Pease and J. B. Titchener, that of Aeneas by many hands. The reference on p. 342 to a 'list of rare words' in Onasander seems a slip; anyhow none is given. The introductions are excellent, and in a small compass give exactly what is required. The text of Aeneas is based upon Schöne's recension of 1911. Those of Asclepiodotus and Onasander are new recensions, based on the important Florentine MS. (Laurentianus LV, 4), which has been collated for this edition by Professor E. Rostagno. The only previous edition of Asclepiodotus was that of Rüstow and Köchly in 1855, and the last edition of Onasander was also Köchly's of 1860; but Köchly did not know the Florentine MS., or the Vatican and Neapolitan MSS. of Ona-

sander of which Mr. Oldfather has used photographs. Köchly's Onasander was based on Parisinus 1442; but he also used two accurate descendants of Laurentianus, and Mr. Oldfather's text does not greatly differ from Köchly's, to whose critical acumen he pays high tribute. I imagine the present edition of both authors will be the standard one for many years.

I have compared a number of portions of the translations and found them accurate. Aeneas reads well; Asclepiodotus as well as he can; Onasander (to me) sometimes reads awkwardly, probably because the translators have taken much pains to give the full literal meaning of the clumsy Greek. I have noted one or two points. Onas. 10. 16 (a terrible sentence): *πᾶς γὰρ κύκλος ἐλάττω τὴν τοῦ σχήματος ὄψιν ἔχει τῆς ἐξ ἀναλόγου στερεομετρομένης θεωρίας*, 'every circle appears to contain less than it actually does by the theory of proportionate geometrical contents'; I think it means 'a circle looks smaller than a proportionate body in three dimensions looks': he is not talking of a mathematical theory but of observed phenomena—e.g., the ground-plan of a house looks larger once the walls are up. Onas. 35. 3 [the general must take what plunder he needs for the State; for war does not bring both gain to the State and unlimited plunder to the troops]: *ἤδη δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς τῶν ἡττημένων πλούτους . . . αἱ ὀφέλειαί σφισι δαψιλέσται γίγνονται*. The translation given of this sentence does not make sense with what precedes; is it not 'but it does sometimes happen that the vanquished are so wealthy that the troops get the larger share,' i.e. after the general is satisfied? Onas. 35. 4: *μάλιστα μὲν τῶν (all MSS. τοὺς) πρὸς οὓς ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ δοκῇ οἱ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀναιρεῖν*, where the reading *τῶν* has compelled the translator to render *καὶ* as *ἀν*, 'at the very most he may kill, if he thinks best, the allies,' etc. It seems quite simple, reading *τοὺς*; [don't kill prisoners; but if you must] 'let him kill those against whom the war is directed and, if he please, their allies'; i.e., whatever he does he must not kill mercenaries. In l. 8 of the same passage *αὐτοὶ* is not oneself but the enemy: spare prominent

prisoners, so that if the enemy capture good men of yours you can exchange.

Aeneas and Onasander are full of interest. Aeneas was epitomised for Pyrrhus; but to us the light he throws on social-political conditions is more valuable; and one regrets his lost *ποριστικὴ βίβλος*, where he propounded a scheme for (in modern phraseology) giving unemployment relief without raising the income-tax. Onasander, too, can be topical; he knows the advantage of persuading your people that you are fighting a defensive war, though he is in two minds about frightfulness. Even Asclepiodotus' pedantic drill-book has illuminating details. His limits of length for the sarissa are those of Theophrastus, but his details show he is not quoting; he probably represents Poseidonius correcting Polybius' exaggerated figures. And his statement (with diagrams) that Thessalian cavalry habitually used a rhomboid formation suggests that Polybius' astounding arrangement of the Roman fleet at Ecnomus may be true after all and copied from Pyrrhus' Thessalian horse. This handy edition of the tacticians is one to be grateful for; may we hope that the Illinois Greek Club will consider a companion volume on the mechanicians—Athenaeus, Philon, etc.?

Dr. McCartney's little book, intended presumably for general readers, belongs to the American series called 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome.' It gives a sketch of the development of the art of war on land in both countries, parts of which are really interesting, notably the chapters on the evolution of generalship, Roman drill, and the spade in the Roman army (Rome is better done than Greece); but the author is handicapped by feeling it his duty to find 'debts' where there are really only parallels; interesting parallels, many of them, but largely drawn from warfare of a century or more ago. The simple principles of war are the same in every age; but it is arguable that the only actual debt of the men of the Great War to classical antiquity (except the modelling of Tannenberg upon Cannae, which the author properly emphasises) was to the revolution which turned the general from a leader into a director of his men, a revolution (as I

think the author understands) initiated, not by Greece or Rome, but by Carthage. Naval warfare is done rather perfunctorily in one chapter, which relies much on Admiral Custance; but the slightest sketch should not have stated that a 'mêlée in narrow waters'

(Salamis) enabled 'the superior seamanship' of the Greeks to be 'exerted to the best advantage,' or quoted as authoritative von der Goltz's amazing blunders about Alexander's fleet. The book contains bibliography, notes, and a preface by Colonel Naylor.

W. W. TARN.

### GREEK RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

*Greek Religious Thought from Homer to the Age of Alexander.* By F. M. CORNFORD. Pp. xxxv+252. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1923. Cloth, 5s. net.

MR. CORNFORD'S book is a volume of the 'Library of Greek Thought,' of which the general editor is Mr. Ernest Barker. The latter's note on the series informs us that it 'is intended for readers of a general education, not necessarily versed in the Greek language,' that 'each volume will contain a general introduction, and there will also be brief explanatory introductions to many of the most important passages quoted,' and that 'each volume will on the average contain about two hundred and fifty pages' and 'a brief bibliography . . . and indexes both of the authors cited and of the subject-matter of the volume.' We are not told whether we may expect a later volume to bridge the otherwise unfortunate gap between Alexander's time and the rise of Christianity.

The great bulk of Mr. Cornford's book consists of passages translated from various Greek authors, from Homer to Stobaeus, with a few from Latin. The versions, alike Mr. Cornford's own and those which he has chosen from others, are excellent, the passages are well selected, and the introduction gives a compact, lucid and interesting survey of the whole

subject, of which Mr. Cornford is of course a master. Doubtless there will be differences of opinion upon the desirability of including or excluding certain passages: for example, it might have been better to cut down the long extract from the *Clouds* in order to make room for fuller illustration of the mystical element in Socrates; not one passage from Plato's *Symposium* is included. But such differences of opinion, especially when the compiler is hampered by restrictions of space, are inevitable.

The only thing which seems likely seriously to impair the utility of the book is a certain obscurity. This again is largely due to restriction of space, as well as to the deficiency of our information about the subject: to avoid it altogether would perhaps be impossible. But Mr. Cornford's introduction and notes are very brief, and it is a great pity that he has not supplied us with the bibliography promised by the general editor. It is to be feared that in studying some parts of the work (e.g. Heraclitus) the student unversed in Greek will find himself in the position of the eunuch of great authority under Candace, with no St. Philip at hand to lighten his perplexities. There is also no index of subject-matter, but the place of this is fairly well supplied by the full table of contents.

GILBERT A. DAVIES.

### VIRGIL'S LITERARY BIOGRAPHY.

*Virgil's Biographia Litteraria.* By NORMAN WENTWORTH DE WITT, Ph.D., Professor of Latin Literature in Victoria College, University of Toronto. Pp. 200. Toronto: Victoria College Press; Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1923. 12s. 6d. net.

THE story of Virgil's earlier years as told in the ancient *Lives* and scattered biographical notices Professor De Witt seeks to amplify—and to correct—with material sought from the *Appendix Vergiliana* and *Eclogues*.

With the exception of the 'anachronistic *Elegiae in Maecenatem*' the authen-



ticity of the minor *Vergilian Corpus* is assumed, or, rather, is made to depend upon the success with which the author is able to fit the poems, each and all, into a connected account of the poet's life. Failure anywhere is (too frankly) recognised as failure everywhere; and this excessive fear leads to special pleading. Hence, sometimes, an unconvincing and unnatural explanation of certain obstructive lines is offered (e.g. in the case of *Lydia*), or (e.g. in the case of *Copa*) a poem is confidently assigned to a precise date, in order, as it seems, simply to preserve the proposed scheme—just as though the spiritual and material circumstances of an artist could be consistently identified with the passing mood which he may feign. The trouble is aggravated by De Witt's dissatisfaction with the methods of, one suspects, German criticism; which brings him to describe *Culex* as 'purely a product of a Transpadane boyhood and the Cremona schools' and to see the influence of Messalla in *Eclogues* I. and IX. But it is not alone the Virgilian detractors who are bound to study literary sources.

However, whether or not De Witt has helped towards the solution of the authenticity question, of more importance to the student of Virgil is the sturdy attempt made to apply the information hardly won from history and

mythology to the service of the poet's life and work, and the interesting impression of Virgil as a man which De Witt's pages leave upon the mind—widely different from that which the reader retains after a perusal of the Suetonian *Life*. The development of Virgil's character and ideals, the aberrations and vicissitudes of his enthusiasms, as student, friend, burgher and political partisan, are traced with sympathy and the energy of conviction, until after many struggles, of which the issue is never really in doubt, the pedantic Transpadane schoolboy finds his fated place as the apostle of imperial tolerance. If little has been done to extend our knowledge of the *Eclogues*, several of the interpretations given for the minor poems are novel and some attractive, particularly that of the *Dirae*; and, though the mass of evidence and conjecture necessarily involved tends to hold up the main theses, much clear statement and judicious recapitulation keeps the course clear.

Classical scholarship nurtured in European conservatism is inclined to frown upon the freedoms of inference; and this book is more likely to engage attention—and opposition—in sum than in detail—a result perhaps not displeasing to the author's instinct for true humane values.

D. L. DREW.

### THE LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS.

*Philostratus and Eunapius: The Lives of the Sophists.* With an English translation by WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, Ph.D., Professor of Greek, Bryn Mawr College. (Loeb Classical Library.) 1922. 10s.

PROFESSOR WRIGHT is one of those who account 'all that is not German, not germane.' One American is the solitary exception. I do not complain that my own results have been either silently borrowed (Intr. p. xi) or ignored (*ib.* p. ix); but that not even Chassang and Vidal Lablache (Hérode Attique) appear in the bibliography. But the translation's the thing. The text does not differ notably from Kayser. To translate *The Lives of the Sophists* is no easy task;

there is a technical vocabulary, such that the translator who has not mastered it, blurs when he does not actually garble the sense of his original. Professor W. offers a glossary of rhetorical terms, which leaves much to be desired; it includes *διαρίθωσαι*, 'to manage,' which has nothing technical about it; the account given of *ἐπιβολή* is highly questionable, and the passage of Dio (referred to) supports no such meaning; *τραγῳδία* does not figure in it, and is mistranslated in the text by 'tragedy'; *κρότος* and *ἤχώ* are not synonyms. (*ἤχος* is rendered 'assonance' on p. 516.)

Philostratus' gallery of little sketches of those marvellous verbal executants

makes the liveliest reading in the Greek, but this translation is flat and colourless; the nuances are frequently missed, the wit disappears; and the writer seems to grope about in the Philostratean Greek without ease or security. One little Americanism one hails with pleasure ('the sort that . . . *chase after* the Sophists,' p. 207): 'ο si sic plura!' The language is sadly raceless. Slang would be more welcome than defect of idiom: e.g. we find 'a blow in the face with his open hand' — *anglice*, 'a box on the ears.' Why not? Also Professor Wright follows a bad tradition in forcing the original Greek metaphor: e.g. (p. 230) οὕτως τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐηνίως διέθετο ὡς μηδὲ τοῦ Πολέμωνος ῥόζου λείπεσθαι δόξαι ('he guided the reins of the argument so skilfully that he proved himself fully equal to Polemo in force and vigour'). This is uncouth: for the metaphor in *εὐηνίως* can be expressed in the English word 'management'; but our translator forces it in the first part of the sentence and suppresses it in the second, not conveying to the reader that 'it was felt that not even the *careering* rush of Polemo could beat Adrian's eloquence.' There is hardly a page where one is not annoyed by this blunting workmanship; and often it is more than a nuance that is missed;

e.g. (p. 306) Heliodorus was appointed to go to Gaul and represent his native city in a suit to be tried before Caracalla: for this the translator gives us 'He was elected advocate of his own country among the Celtic tribes. . . .'

The same criticisms are less applicable to the second part of the book, but Eunapius has less to lose than Philostratus. The bibliography at least is less restricted, and the author seems to write with rather more of an air of familiarity about the fourth century. But Eunapius tries to write like Philostratus, and Professor Wright's English is still circuitous and pointless. A praetorian prefecture is described as *βασιλεία ἀπόρφυρος*, 'the empire without the purple': this becomes in the Loeb version 'a magistracy which, though it lacks the imperial purple, exercises imperial power.' For *κωμικὴ βωμολογία* we get 'facetious wit.' The copious and impressionable Libanius needs to be indexed and critically studied before Professor Wright's rather summary contradiction of Eunapius' judgment on him could be justified.

The notes are very slight throughout. The book is neatly produced, and I have remarked very few misprints; but the price is high.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

### TERRA-COTTA IN ARCHAIC ART

*Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia.* By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. Pp. xx + 168. Eighty figures, printed on 19 plates. London: John Murray, 1923. 21s. net.

THE work before us is a sequel to the same author's *Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium in the VI. and V. Centuries B.C.*; but the system adopted in the present instance is a somewhat different one, owing to the nature of the material. In the first group of revetments the figure predominated, both in relief and in the round, and it was therefore possible to divide the terra-cottas into three main divisions—antefixae, acroteria, and friezes—and group them under types, according to the various motives that they illustrated. Of the terra-cottas

now under review, the interest is in a much greater measure architectural, and the lateral external friezes with their rich decorations in relief do not, indeed, occur at all in South Italy and Sicily, though there are slight indications that there may have been friezes in the interior of the temples. Nor is there, even in the antefixae, that 'identity of certain examples from widely separated temples, not only through Etruria and Latium, but also in Campania,'<sup>1</sup> which 'implies that moulds were carried by the workmen whithersoever their work led them.'

Each example is thus treated separately, no longer under three, but

<sup>1</sup> Della Seta indeed prefers to call them Italic rather than Etruscan.

under eighteen divisions, which are not, however, subdivided into general types.<sup>1</sup> But the catalogue, instead of (as before) occupying almost the whole book, takes up only the second half of it, the first half consisting of twenty-five chapters dealing separately with each site, in which the isolated examples find their place in the description of the building to which they belonged; whereas in the former work the sites as such were not dealt with at all.

In both halves of the present book Mrs. Van Buren's treatment of her subject is careful and thorough. The descriptions are good, and the bibliography is excellent; while the small size of some of the illustrations, if regrettable, is only to be expected, if the book is to be kept at a reasonable price. A diagram showing the place of each kind of revetment on the temple would, however, have been welcome in both works.

One would perhaps wish that Mrs. Van Buren had not limited herself so strictly as she has done in her brief introduction, in which, indeed, certain general topics might well have found place, instead of being discussed only in connexion with individual sites. We may instance the treatment of the disused material from a temple after its restoration or destruction, which seems sometimes to have been buried with care (pp. 10, 66) and sometimes to have been broken up (pp. 8, 13, 16).

Many questions there are in connexion with our subject to which an answer cannot yet be given. 'It is,' Mrs. Van Buren tells us, 'hard to say where this method of decoration

originated, whether in Greece proper or in the nearer East.' It is certainly strange, as she notes, that, while the fictile revetments from sites in Asia Minor, and from Larissa, with their metope-like plaques or continuous friezes, have some affinity with the earliest temples of Etruria and Latium, it is far more difficult to find parallels to those of South Italy and Sicily, where the absence of figurative friezes is one of the most marked features. Indeed, it is not entirely clear whether the immediate origin of these last is to be sought in the east or in the west. The revetments of the Treasury of the Geloans at Olympia were, in her opinion, probably made at Gela itself, though she does not do more than raise the question (which cannot, obviously, yet be answered) whether these revetments were, on the whole, the work of local or of foreign craftsmen. Certainly, when we come to the enormous revetments from Selinus, we cannot suppose that the moulds from which they were made were carried from place to place; but we do not yet know who were their creators.<sup>2</sup> The beauty and purity of design of these terra-cotta decorations will be a revelation to many; and from the practical architect's point of view a study of them might be instructive even in modern building craft. Mrs. Van Buren's work leads us to hope that she will pursue the subject further, when the treasures which are still to be published, from Caulonia, Megara Hyblaea, Selinus, and elsewhere have increased the material available to such an extent as to furnish, as she foreshadows, 'new criteria for a study of the whole field.'

T. ASHBY.

<sup>1</sup> The types frequently mentioned in the catalogue of examples are those peculiar to each site.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Van Buren has some interesting remarks on the subject on p. 61.

### A MODIFIED DOCTRINE OF 'BREVES BREVIANTES.'

*Les Mots et Groupes iambiques réduits dans le Théâtre latin.* By DR. ALICE BRENOT. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. xii + 119. Paris, Champion, 5, Quai Malaquais, 1923.

THIS treatise has a special interest for students of Old Latin dramatic verse, in that it is based upon a new develop-

ment in the doctrine of the 'Brevis Brevians.' Dr. Brenot fully acknowledges her obligations for the foundation of her doctrine to her teacher, Professor L. Havet; and he has told me in private correspondence that he has taught this modified form of the doctrine for a number of years in his

lectures in Paris. When he coined the term 'Breves Breviantes' in his book, *De Saturnio*, he held, like many others, that in the sequence  $\cup-$ , representing the rise (thesis) or the fall (arsis) of a foot in the Old Latin drama, it was only the second of these two syllables that was reduced in duration,  $\cup-$  becoming  $\cup\cup$ , and so occupying only two units of time. But he has been led to substitute for this doctrine a new hypothesis in a large number of cases. To quote Dr. Brenot: 'Cette hypothèse' (i.e. the doctrine of the shortening of the second syllable only), 'vraisemblable pour certains types de mots seulement, ne s'applique pas à la généralité des cas de réduction relevés. Il est à peu près sûr que la finale d'un mot iambique tel que *homost, mihist, tibist*, ou comme *ferunt, potest, iners, senex*, se prolongeait davantage que la syllabe initiale' (p. 38). I have often insisted on the same point myself;<sup>1</sup> and it is no small satisfaction to me to find confirmation coming from Professor Havet's school. How far his new doctrine satisfies the conditions of the problem cannot be discussed here. It is briefly the substitution of a *rhythmical* for a purely *linguistic* explanation of the phenomenon—viz., that in the case of words, or groups of words, in which the second syllable cannot without violence be regarded as reduced to the dimensions of one unit of time, both of the syllables in the sequence

$\cup-$ , should be regarded as reduced in duration, yet in such a way as to retain their former ratio to one another: instead of  $1+2$ , we then get  $\frac{1}{2}+\frac{2}{2}$ . Professor Havet does not deal in figures representing mathematically exact durations; but perhaps it would be doing him no injustice to suppose that  $\cup-$  may be represented in such cases as  $\frac{2}{3}+\frac{1}{3}$  of a unit of time. Dr. Brenot gives the figures as  $\frac{1}{3}+\frac{2}{3}$  (p. 38); but that is only because she envisages the 'iambe réduit' as replacing a single short syllable, whereas it would more correctly be treated as replacing two short syllables ( $\cup\cup$ ), i.e. two units of time.

I have no space for discussing the many interesting points that arise in her classification of instances according to the place in which they are found in different metres. Her lists are not quite complete, but they are instructive. The text used for Plautus is that of Leo, for Terence that of Umpfenbach, for the tragic and comic fragments that of Ribbeck. But on p. 97 she adopts (without warning) Havet's conjecture *med* in *Truc*. 163. On p. 8 *voluptarios* (*Rud.* 54) ought to be transferred to p. 25. But these are only slight blemishes.

Accompanying this volume is an edition of the text of Phaedrus by Dr. Brenot ('Thèse complémentaire pour le doctorat ès lettres'), in which two emendations are proposed: *quare* for *cur* (I. 1. 5), and *praedam* <*iam*> *ab alio* (I. 4. 4).

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., in my article in *Classical Philology*, VI. 1.

## THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AND THE FOUNDER OF THE EMPIRE.

*The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire.* By T. RICE HOLMES.

Three vols. Pp. xvi+486; xvi+337; xix+620. Oxford: University Press, 1923. £3 3s. net.

IN these three handsome volumes Dr. Rice Holmes applies to the age of Cicero and Caesar as a whole the method which he has already employed with such striking success in his books on Caesar's wars in Gaul and Britain. The result is a work which is a credit to British scholarship, and which will undoubtedly come to be regarded as the

standard history of the period. The greater part of each volume consists of a straightforward and readable narrative, the notes to which contain little more than references to ancient authorities and discussions of quite minor points, while controversial questions are dealt with fully in the appendices. Thus the book will be of great value to the beginner as well as to the advanced student, who will find in it trustworthy guidance through the voluminous literature which has accumulated round particular questions.

Apart from an introductory chapter which is concerned mainly with the fifty years preceding the death of Sulla, the whole book is devoted to the events of some 35 years (79-44 B.C.), which are, thanks to the writings of Cicero and Caesar, better known than any other period of antiquity, and have appealed to many historians of the first rank. Dr. Rice Holmes justifies his boldness in treading on such familiar ground by viewing his subject from rather a new standpoint. While he does not neglect political questions and deals fully, for instance, with all the problems connected with the Catilinarian conspiracy and Caesar's tenure of his province, his own interests seem rather to lie in military matters. In this book he does for the Civil War and, to some extent, for the campaigns of Lucullus and Pompey in the East what he has done in his previous volumes for the Gallic and British campaigns of Caesar. The serious student of these wars will find the book of inestimable value; nowhere else will he find so full a discussion of topographical and chronological questions, or so convenient an introduction to the literature of the subject. The chapters on Caesar's Gallic wars are a slightly condensed summary of Dr. Rice Holmes' earlier work, but there is new matter in an appendix which discusses some recent controversial writings.

Where so much is given it seems ungracious to ask for more, but the excellence of the chapters on 'The Roman World in the Ciceronian Age' and 'Gaul before the Roman Conquest' tempts one to wish that Dr. Rice

Holmes had more often been willing to pause in his narrative and consider in detail the significance for Roman History of some of the events which he describes. One occasionally feels that the period is treated a little too much in isolation. Many readers would welcome a full discussion by such a competent authority of, say, Caesar's army compared with that of the earlier Republic and the Principate, or of the permanent value of Pompey's settlement of the eastern frontier. His book contains, of course, much information on these subjects, but it is perhaps not unfair to say that its value would have been increased by a rather broader treatment of them. Again, the real importance of Pompey's career consists in the precedents derived by Augustus from his extraordinary commands. This point, which is perhaps over-emphasised by Eduard Meyer, seems to receive scarcely enough attention from Dr. Rice Holmes.

But even in such an elaborate work it is impossible to find room for discussion of every aspect of the subject, and Dr. Rice Holmes probably thinks that other writers have adequately dealt with such points as have been mentioned. He certainly gives us much that cannot be derived from any other source, and in an age which is unduly fond of facile generalisation we should be thankful to him for having produced a work which is at the same time learned and readable. It is to be regretted that its cost puts it out of the reach of many who would read it with pleasure and profit.

G. H. STEVENSON.

### GREEK ECONOMICS.

*Greek Economics* (The Library of Greek Thought). By M. L. W. LAISTNER. One vol. Pp. xlii + 204. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1923. 5s. net.

THE title of this book is *Greek Economics*, and yet Lysias, *Against the Corn-dealers*, is our closest, and indeed our only, contact with economic practice. Not merely numismatics, but even epigraphy might never have existed! Can it be that a *Library of*

*Greek Thought* implied restrictions so illiberal? If so, it was a pity. Both the introduction and translation are workmanlike as far as they go. A critic can always find small blemishes. 'View-point' is an abomination, which might well be left to its American inventors; the English for it is 'point of view,' not too large a sacrifice of space for euphony. I regret the use of 'senate' as a translation for 'Boule' in the Lysias passage. To those of my students who know

some Latin but no Greek it would suggest a false analogy.

But these are trifles. The serious question one is bound to ask is, Was the book worth doing? Greek economic theory, when all is said and done, is not a consistent body of thought. Economic considerations naturally enter into Greek political speculation, since they cannot, for obvious reasons, be excluded from any enquiry into the structure of society, but they are always secondary, and indeed are seldom envisaged from a purely economic point of view. Further, with the exception of the *Eryxias*, all the passages here given in translation are already very accessible in excellent English versions. Perhaps disappointment has jaundiced my view. Mr. Laistner's title had raised my hopes, for a simple but competent book upon Greek economic conditions with translations from suitable texts and inscriptions is a long-felt want of all those whose lot it is to try to teach Greek history to students who are imperfectly equipped in the Greek language. Such a book might start with the development of coinage as a medium of exchange, and sketch briefly the relation of the inflation of currency to the value of money in wages and prices in Greek history. The Kallias decree would provide a text to illustrate the

development of an organised State finance; the methods which were employed by the State to raise money and the nature of its expenditure and the degree to which the State controlled imports and exports could be discussed in relation to translations of texts and inscriptions. The 'private' speeches of the Attic orators would serve to demonstrate the industrial and commercial development of the fourth century, the growth of banking, the system of credits by which commerce was financed, and so on. Even if the Hellenistic period were held over to serve rather as an introduction to the economics of the Roman world, there would be ample matter provided by such topics for a book which would be invaluable to teachers of Greek history. It would also, I venture to think, be of more real interest to the general reader, for, in fact, Greek economic history is more instructive than Greek economic theory. At the same time the texts by which it would be illustrated would be more of an addition to the resources of the Greekless reader, who has already easy access to Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle. Perhaps Mr. Laistner will be magnanimous and perform a really useful task, which I am sure he would do well.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

#### ATHENIAN TRAGEDY.

*Athenian Tragedy: A Study in Popular Art.* By THOMAS DWIGHT GOODSELL. Small 8vo. Pp. 297. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 21s. net.

IT is the temptation of English scholars to begin with origins. We cannot tell a plain tale of an omnibus without discoursing first about the origin of wheels. In America, it seems, the temptation is to talk, sometimes a little vaguely, anyhow about first principles. Thus Mr. Flickinger could not get started on his valuable study of the externals of the Greek theatre without first disposing, painfully and conscientiously, of Mr. Spingarn's view that externals are irrelevant to drama. And now Professor

Goodell feels it necessary to discuss the nature of all art, and of dramatic art particularly, before he deals with Attic drama. He modestly, perhaps ironically, suggests that people to whom such topics are 'elementary and familiar' may skip this chapter; but that would be a mistake. Many learned editors do, in fact, go far astray because they scorn such topics.

We begin with a lucid statement of the distinction between representative art and imitation. A work of art is not a reproduction, but a transformation of some part of life in accordance with conditions imposed by the material. In geometrical ornament, for instance, 'some lines are eliminated, others developed or combined, without reference

to the original, in obedience to some new law in the decorator's mind, until a pattern, a series of patterns, a style, had arisen in which there was no thought of imitation.' Every art has its own method of selection, isolation, emphasis, and its own conventions. Drama, which embraces many arts, must conform variously to their several methods of transforming the realities of time, space, motion, into significant artistic shape. Moreover, drama requires the theatre and audience and actors for the creation of the completed work. The printed words are like the musician's notes or the architect's plans, not the symphony or the cathedral. That is why a student should lose no opportunity of seeing Greek plays 'tolerably acted,' and should continually ask himself when reading: 'What do I see?'

All this is admirable; and if I criticise one or two details, I do so because I think Professor Goodell's essay illuminating and valuable. When he insists that dramatic language must be effective, and the sentences 'transparent in structure,' I agree. Many forced interpretations of Sophoclean syntax, for example, can be ruled out on this ground alone. But when he adds that the dramatic sentence 'must end strongly with emphasis on the last word, preferably on the last syllable,' he is thinking not of Greek but of English sentences. Verrall constructed an imaginary and misleading intrigue for the *Septem* from a mistaken notion that the word *μολών* at the end of a line (273) and a sentence—the least emphatic place—must be fraught with a tremendous significance. Again, though I agree that the actor's enunciation, like the lines he speaks, must be elevated above the tones of nature—'It is by theatrical means,' says Ellen Terry, 'that the play is made to hold a mirror up to nature'—there are good and bad conventions, and the convention of the modern English actor, at any rate, is bad. The actor's tone and gesture should, I suggest, seem natural to the world in which he is for the moment living. Clytemnestra and Lady Macbeth should live on a higher plane, speak a richer language, than ordinary people, and they should express

themselves by voice and gesture in a manner which is natural to, and worthy of, this higher life which they are actually living. Professor Goodell would agree to this, but he has not stated the point plainly.

The book is full of good things. For instance, a convincing refutation of the popular idea that Greek tragedy is dominated by a grim mechanical 'Fate'; the explanation in plain English of the much-abused Aristotelian *ἀρχή, δέσις, μετάβασις, λύσις, τέλος*: 'starting-point, out of which the rest grows, complication, transition, clarification, and natural close'; the clear statement of the principle that 'as the play proceeds curiosity about the external event melts into sympathy with the inner experience induced by it. . . . The reason lies in the accumulation of memories, the growth of our acquaintance with the persons'; and a very sane discussion of the liberties which Greek dramatists take with time and place. I think the place-convention is even simpler than Professor Goodell allows. The orchestra can be conceived either as an open space in front of the palace, temple, hut, or cave, represented by the Skene, or as an open place—grove, seashore, burial-place—which may be far away from it. Thus in the *Ajax*, in the early scenes, it is the space immediately in front of the hero's hut; but when the chorus leave the stage to search for Ajax, our imagination travels with them, and the orchestra becomes a remote part of the coast. The arrangement is just like that of the neutral space between the 'Houses' in plays like *Campaspe*. There is no need for such complicated arrangements as 'that the dwelling filled not over half the background, while another half was set with the suggestion of bushes or rocks.' Similarly in the *Choephorae*, Electra enters not from outside the theatre, as Professor Goodell says, but from the House, the assumption being that the House is at a distance from the Tomb. The House is there, and Electra comes out of it; the Tomb is there, and Orestes prays at it: the distance between House and Tomb is whatever the poet likes to make it. And if he chooses, at any moment, by simply ignoring either House or

Tomb, he can shift the whole of his action.

The chapter on Aeschylus seems to me the weakest. More should have been said of the analogy between poetry and music. In particular, the dramatic effects obtained by the choral odes in the *Agamemnon* and *Choephorae* are still generally missed. The author is at his best in discussing the characters of Sophocles, and, as for Euripides, holds the very reasonable view that, as a thinker, he rejected the traditional account of the behaviour of the gods, but as a dramatist, bent on portraying life, used the traditional stuff without scruple and without thought of philosophical consistency. I am delighted to see that Professor Goodell thinks the *Helena* a good comedy; and I find his interpretation of the *Alcestis* as romantic, not to be taken too tragically, quite convincing. But I think he is unfair to the *Hecuba*, and wonder whether really what is wrong with that great play is not so much 'the lack of unity,' but rather, perhaps, that element of 'the disagree-

able' which makes Professor Goodell say with an air of critical finality: 'We do not nowadays accept on the stage any "tragedy of blood" by a contemporary of Shakespeare.' One cannot help recalling how the foul-mouthed ghosts of Shakespeare, Marlowe and Webster, were invoked by Rupert Brooke to prostrate with 'their outspoken uncleanness' Professor Schelling and the inhabitants of 'modern middle-class drawing-rooms.' The convention *ne coram populo* can be used to noble purpose, and can produce effects which are perfect in their kind. But Webster knew what he was about in the *Duchess of Malfi*; and I have known an undergraduate speak the words, 'Remove the bodies,' at the end of the *White Devil* so that nobody, even in an English audience, was moved to titter or to faint.

But it is a good book, which ought to be made available in many libraries, since it is too dear for many readers to buy.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

## TWO BOOKS ON ROMAN BRITAIN.

*Roman Britain.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, F.S.A. One vol. Crown 8vo. Pp. 104 (maps, photographs, drawings). London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1923. 2s. 6d. net.

*The Romans in Britain.* By B. C. A. WINDLE. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xii + 244 (65 illustrations). London: Methuen and Co., 1923. 12s. 6d. net.

THE lack of a short, simple, and trustworthy account of Roman Britain for the use of the public at large has long been a reproach to English scholarship. Mr. Collingwood has supplied the need with this admirable little book, which represents a set of lectures given at the University Extension meeting at Oxford in 1921. Pointing out the falsity of the old traditional picture of Roman Britain so common in the first chapter of English history-books, he goes on to give a rapid survey of the Roman conquest and occupation and of the main features of the civilisation of the island under Roman sway—its military life,

its town and country life, its language and art and religions—and ends with a sketch of its destruction by the invading barbarians, and with the suggestion that there are still to be found some traces of continuity in race and racial qualities between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England. It is a scholarly and artistic piece of work, written in an easy and lucid style, well illustrated and well printed: he who runs may read it, and carry away impressions that are vivid and true. In a second issue the wording of a sentence here and there might be modified, as on p. 19 (senatorial provinces) or p. 94 (the Chichester dedication), and a date or two slightly altered. But there is not much to criticise.

Of very different quality is Sir B. Windle's book. He explains that he has gained familiarity with the Roman remains by long walks and bicycle expeditions and hours of study in museums; but that for the archaeological and historical setting of his account (intended



for general readers) he has 'had to rely on reading, having no claim to be considered a classical archaeologist or historian.' The result is what might be expected—an uncritical, unscholarly compilation, seamed with gross errors of all sorts and kinds, and marked by lack of thorough comprehension and of adequate knowledge. To collect all these blunders would be a waste of time and space. A few will suffice. We have *Corstorpitum* always and often; *Colonia Agripporum* or *Agrippensium*; *principium* regularly for *principia*; *collegia cantonarii* (fire-brigades); 'collections of houses forming . . . a *Kanaba*' (not once only); 'the persecution of Diocletian, which Ramsay thinks was alluded to in the Apocalypse'; 'Octavianus, better known

as Augustus, the name which he had assumed, in the year 27 allowed himself to be made *Pontifex Maximus*'; Hadrian 'made Eburacum the naval headquarters'; 'the Greek idea of a pediment was a bit of a procession, as we see in the Parthenon.' We might quote the author's statements about Chester with the strange conception of *cives Romani consistentes*; or his views about Silchester, with its walls existing from the start; or his idea of the *Severi Augustales* (so in text and index) expressed on pp. 110, 220, and many more priceless things. But enough has been said to show that the publication of the book is prejudicial to the cause of sound knowledge.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

#### THE PIERPONT MORGAN PLINY.

*A Sixth-Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger: A Study of an Uncial Manuscript preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.* By E. A. LOWE and E. K. RAND. One vol. Quarto. Pp. vi+99; 18 full-page and 2 double-page facsimiles. Washington: The Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1922.

IN a postscript appended to the preface of his edition of Pliny (which was recently noticed in these columns) Professor E. T. Merrill gives a collation, furnished by Dr. E. A. Lowe, of an uncial fragment now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. This fragment, now styled II, is the subject of a handsome volume published by the Carnegie Institute of Washington under the care of Dr. Lowe and Professor E. K. Rand. Needless to say, these two scholars form an ideal combination for such a task.

The six leaves of which II consists include a few lines at the end of Book II. and Book III. as far as Ep. V. 4. Its date, according to Dr. Lowe, is about 500 A.D.; and two idle scribblings (the later one apparently 'a *probatio peninae* on the part of a notary') show that it was certainly in France about the year 1500, and that it may have crossed the Alps from Italy in the ninth century, or even before. Incidentally

Dr. Lowe gives some welcome information on the dating of uncial MSS. May we dare to hope that he will find time to develop this subject still farther? As he himself says, 'the history of uncial writing still remains to be written.'

Students of the Younger Pliny have often regretted the loss of the Codex Parisinus (P). Aldus' edition of 1508 (the first complete edition of the *Letters*) and the text of part of Book X. published by Avantius in 1502 were professedly based upon it, but our only direct knowledge of its readings has hitherto come from a copy of Pliny which once belonged to Budaëus. This volume, which is now in the Bodleian Library, contains (1) the editions of Beroaldus (1498) and of Avantius; (2) a transcript from P of the portions not contained in these early editions, including a large part of Book VIII. and of Book X.; (3) many marginal and interlinear variants inserted by Budaëus from various sources, which he does not precisely indicate, though P was certainly one of them. Now, however, Professor Rand maintains that in the Pierpont Morgan fragment we actually have twelve pages of the lost Parisinus. It is difficult to resist the cumulative force of his proofs. Next comes the question of the descent

of B and F from P—an interesting question, as B and F (both in the Laurentian Library) are now considered to represent, as far as they go, the best tradition. Professor Rand gives strong reasons for believing that only one codex, a minuscule MS. written in France, intervened between P and its two descendants. Thus our two chief MSS. of the first half of Pliny's *Letters* are grand-children of a good uncial copy written about 500 A.D. One point of special interest is the fact that II provides at the beginning of Book III. an index containing the names of the correspondents and the opening words of each Letter in the book; similar indexes were no doubt prefixed to the other books. B (Bellovacensis) is the only other MS. that does this.

Professor Rand's final chapter deals with the editorial methods of Aldus. The subject is a very debatable one. Aldus' Pliny was bitterly attacked in the olden days by such scholars as Catanaeus and Sichardus, and the latest editor of the *Letters*, Professor Merrill, is scarcely more merciful. It must be admitted that a comparison of Aldus' text with Budaëus' transcript in the Bodleian volume is far from indicating that Aldus followed Parisinus with reasonable fidelity; on the contrary, several of his readings, whether emendations of his own or not, are clearly inferior to those of P. Dr. Rand admits this, but pleads that Budaëus' transcript consists of the parts of Pliny which were published for the first time in the Aldine edition, and that Aldus may well have hesitated to trust P as fully in this part as in the rest, especially as he had at his disposal some other MSS. Moreover, a comparison of the Pierpont

Morgan fragment with the Aldine edition shows the Venetian printer in a much more favourable light. Here he seems to treat his chief MS. in a way which a modern editor would consider quite reasonable—indeed, modern editors have confirmed his judgments in several places. Professor Rand maintains that for Pliny's text in general Aldus, although he introduces a considerable number of 'emendations,' not always felicitous, is a much better witness to the readings of P 'than the Bodleian volume as a whole.' One is glad to learn that Professor Rand intends to pursue the subject farther, testing Aldus throughout the entire text of the *Letters*. The question is interesting for its bearing on the methods of Aldus; it is, of course, less important for the readings of P. Apart from the new fragments (and failing the discovery of another portion of the same codex), B and F must remain our chief authorities for the text of Parisinus in the first half of the *Letters*. For the second half, except the small part copied out by Budaëus, we have no guiding light. If Professor Rand succeeds in proving that in cases where Aldus differs from the ordinary tradition there is at least some presumption that the editor is following Parisinus, he will have done a real service both to Pliny and to Aldus; and I have no doubt that even Professor Merrill, who loves Pliny, but has found Aldus very trying, will rejoice with the rest of us.

At the end of the book are twenty-two pages of facsimiles, including the twelve pages of II (slightly reduced), and two pages each of B, F, and Budaëus.

W. B. ANDERSON.

#### HADOW'S CITIZENSHIP.

*Citizenship.* By W. H. HADOW. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. x+240. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. 6s. net.

DR. HADOW is notoriously an omnivorous reader and possesses a phenomenal memory. He talks ahead about citizenship (some of us with the mind's eye will see again the hall at Worcester and the tireless circumambulatory figure

with its flying gown), pouring out by the way incidental information from his well-stocked mind. A short history of moral philosophy from Hobbes to Kant, the peculiarities of primitive languages, the development of English road-building, the social organisation of Australian aborigines, the political organisation of the Iroquois Six Nations, Lord Dur-

ham and Clive, Machiavelli, Aristotle, Hegel, Treitschke, modern educational theories and instruments, the whole illustrated throughout by ready reference to history and literature, ancient, medieval, and modern—'quidquid agunt homines nostri farrago libelli est.' The thread is sometimes difficult to follow; but the monologue of one so widely read, however discursive, cannot fail to be interesting and suggestive, and must evoke admiration for the range of the speaker's knowledge and interests.

But though much may be excused so busy a man of affairs, and the possession of a memory like Dr. Hadow's may bring its own temptations, the brutal fact remains that talk will not bear transference to the cold deliberateness of print without careful overhauling. Its form must demand pruning and its substance verification. A reader properly resents the slovenliness of repeated inaccuracies of detail, and sometimes, indeed, the misapprehensions are of facts which form the basis of our author's discussion.

Limiting myself to classical matters, I have selected illustrations of different kinds of inaccuracy. Some perhaps are almost as venial as my misquotation of Juvenal above; some may be due to the rhetorical allurements of the telling phrase (ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώματος); but some, I fear, go deeper, and are more serious.

Hegesias appears as Hegesiacus (p. 10), Canius Rufus as Cassius Rufus (p. 140). A statement about the latter in inverted commas is attributed to Mommsen. The words are not in Mommsen's text, and the quotation is substantially as well as verbally inaccurate. Thucydides VIII. 28 is not speaking of 'the inhabitants of a beleaguered city' (p. 45): his meaning, which is quite straightforward, is simply that all the prisoners, the freemen as well as the slaves, were sold. The

well-known dictum of Verres (Cicero, *in Verrem* I. 14) is inaccurately quoted; and Plato (*Republic* 368d) says precisely the opposite of what he is alleged to say on p. 184. Is it fair to Claudius to call him from the point of view of imperial administration the most foolish of Roman emperors; and might not the Flavians and Antonines legitimately display indignant surprise at the statement that the question of enfranchising provincials slumbered from the death of Claudius to the edict of Caracalla (p. 12)? Was 'everything done that human ingenuity could devise' to guard against the Delian League becoming the Athenian Empire, a danger which few, if any, can have foreseen at the time? The framers of the Second Delian Federation would not have agreed as to the implied limits of human ingenuity.

But this extraordinary passage (pp. 136-137) about the Athenian Empire may illustrate the worst kind of inaccuracy in the book. 449 is not the date of the transference of the treasury to Athens. 'Admission to the empire was granted freely and without coercion.' Admission with coercion, if the phrase is allowed, might describe the entry of Carystus, for example, into the empire. That 'the tribute was revised every five years and continually increased,' as regards the second part of the sentence, is simply untrue; and so, in spite of the well-known passage in Thucydides, is the statement that the total annual tribute at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War amounted to 600 T. The implication, again, that the cost of the buildings on the Acropolis was directly met out of the tribute is disproved by the building accounts. Now these are not controversial matters of opinion: the facts, which are based upon contemporary inscriptional records, are in every reputable handbook of Greek history.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

#### SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

WE welcome a new edition of Professor J. S. Reid's *Latin Passages for Practice in Translation at Sight* (Heffer). It is a good, varied selection of 149 pieces suitable for a sixth form. The interesting Preface to the 1878 edition is omitted; an index to the passages is added.

*Latin Unseen*s, selected by two Harrow masters, C. G. Pope and T. E. J. Bradshaw (Longmans, 3s. 6d.), are suitable for a fifth or sixth form. There are 250 pieces, divided roughly into three grades of difficulty. They are, for the most part, well chosen. I would suggest to add an index so that a master may find easily any required passage, and to give the

names of all authors unabridged; some of those who use the book will wonder what is meant by 'Cat. 12.'

Sixth form masters and college tutors should examine *Latin and Greek Passages for Unseen Translation*, compiled by G. G. Morris and W. R. Smale (Cambridge Press, 6s. 6d.; or in two Parts, 3s. 6d. each, I. Latin, 168 pp.; II. Greek, 144 pp.). The aim of the compilers is to provide a *new* collection which 'may, at any rate, prove an attractive change.' The passages are chosen with excellent judgment, and are carefully reproduced from good modern texts. The authors are arranged chronologically, and there is a full index. The beautiful type is worthy of the contents of the book.

*Julia*, by M. Reed (Macmillan, Elem. Classics, 2s.), is a good, easy Latin reading-book for young beginners. Miss Reed keeps to a limited range of inflections and avoids all difficulties of construction, but her stories, mostly old Greek and Roman stories, are really interesting.

In the Clarendon Series (3s. 6d. net each) we have Caesar's *Civil War* in two volumes: (1) Bks. I. and II., edited by H. N. P. Sloman; (2) Bk. III., by the late C. E. Freeman and W. C. Compton. In each volume about half Caesar's text is given, the rest is represented by F. P. Long's translation. This plan is good at a certain stage; the class should know enough Latin to be able to read about a page at each lesson. Otherwise they will not be able to follow the history. If they can read more easily a complete text will be more satisfactory. (1) In Bks. I. and II. scarcely enough help is given either with the language or the history; e.g. in the early chapters we want more information as to the order of the events recorded, brief notes on the distances from place to place and the time required for a messenger or an armed force to cover the ground, etc. A few quotations from Pompey's letters would make the story more real. (2) The Introduction to Bk. III., which is the work of H. M. Last, is remarkably good; it is evidently based on careful study and is very clear and interesting. The notes give most skillfully just the sort of help that a boy wants at this stage both with the language and the subject matter. The summaries at the head of the paragraphs are very well written and make it easy to follow the story. The editor has made good use of Veith's account of the campaign. I would suggest that it is worth while to keep in the classroom for private study alongside of these books Murray's *Handy Classical Maps* and the third volume of Rice Holmes's *Roman Republic* (Clar. Press, 1923). In the latter a very full and interesting account of the Civil War is given. An American teacher once said to me that we in England are peculiarly rich in such books as Holmes's *Ancient Britain* and Grundy's *Thucydides*. It is a pity not to use them at an early stage. Young boys will read them with intense interest and gain from them a respect for classical study which no school-book can arouse. (3) Apuleius, *Cupid and Psyche*, edited by H. E. Butler, in the same series, contains a good selection from *Metam.* IV.-VII. In addition to the fairy story

we have the record of many exciting adventures. Professor Butler is an excellent guide. His Introduction and translation are as good as can be and his notes will give some help with the linguistic difficulties; but the reader will scarcely have time to get used to the strange ways of Apuleius before he comes to the end of the extracts.

Mr. H. B. Mayor's *Primer of Attic Greek* (Macmillan, 3s. 6d.) includes a simplified Accidence (79 pp.) and lists of common words (32 pp.). It seems to me that he carries compression too far and that this book, so far from saving the beginner's time, will make the early stages more difficult than they should be. E.g. after giving *nās* in full M. gives 'ῥιβέις, ῥιβεῖρα, ῥιβέν Gen. S. ῥιβένρος; Dat. Pl. ῥιβεῖου(v).' A beginner may well think that the Gen. S. has only one form. It saves time if all the various types are set out in full so that the learner can verify easily and without guidance any form which he meets. *nās* will mislead him as to the accents. In his desire to simplify M. keeps some important facts out of sight; e.g. he omits the Dual from his tables on the ground that it is 'practically obsolete in classical Greek.' It would be truer to say that it was very much used in Attic, in Aristophanes, e.g., and Plato. However, the book is well planned and the details worked out with care. The printers have arranged the pages most skillfully.

*Paulatin*, by P. H. Reaney (Russell, 4s.), is, in spite of its name, a rather difficult book, more suitable for revision than for a first introduction to the various constructions; e.g. a beginner could not easily take in all the uses of *cum* shown on pp. 37-39. The exposition of syntax is not always clear, and many of the examples are incorrect; e.g. p. 51, *Rogavit quando perveniremus* is given as the indirect form of *Quando perveniemus?* p. 178, *Ubi eam?* The pieces for translation are mostly well selected.

*An Introduction to the History of Rome*, by H. N. Asman (180 pp., Methuen, 4s. 6d.), appears in a second edition, revised.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

*The Works of the Emperor Julian*. With an English Translation by WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, Ph.D., Girton and Brynmawr. Vol. III. Loeb Library. 1923.

IF Dr. Wright in her two previous volumes on Julian has been helpful to many students, this third volume is likely to prove yet more desirable for all who require more than a superficial acquaintance with Julian and his ideas. It contains his letters—chiefly private, but a few official—and his *Contra Christianos*, as compiled from its refutation by Cyril. The writer cites various important publications of recent years, especially by Seeck and Cumont. The Introduction, after a careful and non-committing Biography, gives a list, in alphabetical order, of Julian's correspondents, with a few facts about each, gathered from contemporary history and literature. There are, of course, numerous problems as to the recipients of the letters. It may be mentioned that by rejecting

Letter 81 to Basil and accepting Letter 26 she makes it probable that the relations of Julian to Basil were entirely cordial. The puzzle of the letters to Iamblichus is not solved. The author shows that they can hardly have been written to the younger Iamblichus, and they are therefore, on chronological grounds, rejected as apocryphal.

ALICE GARDNER.

*From Augustus to Augustine.* Essays and Studies dealing with the Contact and Conflict of Classic Paganism and Christianity. By ERNEST G. SIHLER, Ph.D., Hon. LittD., etc. One vol. Pp. xi + 335. Cambridge University Press, 1923.

THIS work is mainly a reprint of essays and studies published from 1916-1921 in the *Biblical Review*, a quarterly of New York. It differs fundamentally from most recent treatises on similar subjects (e.g., Dean Inge's chapter on 'Religion' in *The Legacy of Greece*) by emphasising the contrast between Early Christianity and the religious ideas of the Graeco-Roman world, even as set forth by their worthiest exponents. Perhaps the author is a little exasperated by some popular writers of present or recent times, who might seem to exalt Platonism and Stoicism at the expense of Christianity. But to most readers, even when he is trying to be fair, he fails from want of sympathy with the Hellenic mind and its later developments. Possibly he is right in reminding modern readers that Hellenism tolerated vices from which present-day society is comparatively free, but the fact remains that there are higher regions, moral and religious, as well as aesthetic, in which the Greeks reached further than the moderns, except such as have profited by their labours. Dr. Sihler is an earnest advocate of the preservation of Greek studies, but this is mainly because 'the Greek Testament constitutes both the irreducible minimum of Greek pursuits, and also the book of absolute importance in the entire range of Greek letters.' The reader cannot fail to admire the patience and careful study which the author has expended on literatures which, from his point of view, are at best a partial failure.

Dr. Sihler has devoted much care to the philosophy, religion, and history of the early centuries of our era. He has used the works of many German and some French scholars, but not many English. He curiously seems to imagine that English (and, I suppose, American) people still take Gibbon as authoritative, and 'do not generally examine his and our sources, but trust and read and quote him instead.' He examines the relations of Stoicism to Christianity, and the general state of religion under the Antonines, showing quite fairly that the rational ideas of the philosophic sects did not much affect popular cults and beliefs. Marcus Aurelius is disparaged with something like animosity. He then takes up certain Christian writers and their relations to pagan thought. He has, naturally, little sympathy with Clement of Alexandria, and is shocked at his finding a 'true theology' in the Hymn of Cleanthes the

Stoic, also at his doctrine of human free-will. With Tertullian he feels more sympathy—though why he should not take interest in his later career as Montanist is not clear. Marcion presents an easy target. Professor Sihler had probably not seen the interesting examination of his character by Professor Burkitt. There is a learned but hardly clear and critical chapter on Neo-Platonism and Christianity. In the later chapters: on Julian's religion, on the worship of Mithras, on the controversy as to the Altar of Victory in the Senate-house, we have an attempt to realise the religious position of the 'old believers.' The last part is devoted to the life and experiences of Augustine. He points out that after his conversion 'Augustine, Roman as he was in his basic culture and in his political consciousness, had utterly emancipated himself from all awe and idealisation in dealing with so-called greatness of ancient or earlier Rome. He is far from admiring that political principle which men call imperialism.' At the same time, Augustine is seen as the great supporter of Church authority. In his late writings 'we are confronted with that tremendous and portentous dogma, the core of all further Romanism, of endowing with transcendent authority the supreme corporation qua corporation.'

The style of the work is not always clear. The tone is marred by occasional expressions of irritation against the critical spirit generally. But, after all, the author is doing a good work in practically insisting on the study of even distasteful authorities in the search for historical truth.

ALICE GARDNER.

*The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine.* Text and Translation into English by CHR. B. COLEMAN, Ph.D., Professor of History in Allegheny College. One vol. Royal 8vo. Pp. 1-8; 10-183, 1 plate (MS. Vat. 5314). Yale University Press: London, Humphrey Milford (Oxford University Press), 1922. 21s.

It is somewhat surprising that hitherto there has been no translation into English of Valla's famous treatise on the Donation of Constantine, since that published by T. Godfray (London) in the sixteenth century. Professor Coleman's volume, therefore, supplies a distinct want. The Preface, which is admirably succinct, sums up information useful to the reader, much of which has been treated more fully in a previous work of the author upon *Constantine the Great and Christianity*. Coleman follows Scheffer-Boichorst in ascribing, on linguistic grounds, the forgery of the Donation to the papal chancery in the pontificate of Paul I. (756-767), the evidence adduced being of a very interesting character. He justly lays stress on the fact that Valla, as Secretary to Alfonso, King of Naples, then at war with Pope Eugenius IV., was writing in the interest of his master, and that this treatise may be considered an incident in the campaign. With regard to the previous attack upon the Donation made seven years earlier by Nicholas of Cues—a well-known scholar and theologian, afterwards Cardinal,

and after the death of Eugenius a strong candidate for the Papacy—it must be remembered that he was an intimate friend of Valla. It may, therefore, be Valla from whom Nicholas borrowed, not *vice versa*.

The editor has based his text upon Vat. 5314, a MS. written in 1451, which he has collated with a reprint of von Hutten's text (first edition 1517), and the notes contain a small *apparatus criticus*. Our knowledge of the text, therefore, now rests upon a surer foundation than was previously the case. The translation is written in excellent English, and retains the spirit of the original.

This short notice may be concluded by a bibliographical point. Coleman, following all previous writers, speaks of Ulrich von Hutten as the first editor of Valla's treatise, in 1517. In view of this oft-repeated statement, it may be well to mention that the Bodleian Library contains a copy, printed *per Anonymum de Aloysio*, 1506. If this date is correct, von Hutten must have had an anonymous predecessor.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

*Spigolature Glottologiche*. By MICHELE ORLANDO. Two Parts. Part I., pp. 21; Part II., pp. viii + 88. Palermo: Casa Editrice 'L'Attualità', 1922-23. Part I., Lire 2.50; Part II., Lire 10.

PART I. contains four very short notes hardly worth publication in book form; they might have found more readers in periodicals. (1) Gk. *πατρίς*, Lat. *patris*, Osc. *passtata*, Skt. *pastyam*. Orlando plausibly suggests that these all come from the same root, and stand in ablaut relation (*a : o*) to one another. (2) With regard to Gk.-Lat. *Σικελία*, *Σικανία*, *Sicilia*, *Sicania*, he argues (on insufficient grounds) that *Sicilia* and *Sicania* are derived from one and the same root, viz. *\*seg-*, *\*seg-* (Lat. *seges*), so that the 'gem of islands' would be 'la terra delle messi.' (3) Lat. *Italia*, Gk. *Ἰταλῖν*, Osc. *viteliū* to be separated from Umb. *vitluf* (acc. plu.) 'vitulos,' and to be connected with *utlis*, *uimen*, and *uinum* (cf. *Οἰνοπρία*).<sup>1</sup> But what about the quantity of the initial syllable? (4) Comparing a phonetic peculiarity of modern Sicilian by which *g-* is prefixed to words beginning with vowels—(which?) under certain conditions (—not stated), e.g., *sunnu auti* 'sono alti, they are tall,' but *è gautu* 'è alto,' Orlando makes the interesting suggestion that Lat. *gerrae*, *gerro* and Gk. (Sicel) *γέρρα* (as loan words), and also modern Sicilian *garrusu* 'qui muliebria patitur,' all derive from an ancient Sicel modification of Gk. *ἄρρην* borrowed (more borrowings!) from Greek colonists. This is tantamount to importing a phonetic law of modern Sicilian into ancient Sicel—a procedure for which strong justification must be sought. Can Orlando demonstrate from the scanty evidence available that the law operated in ancient Sicel also? At least one student of the remains of that

<sup>1</sup> This, I find, has also been suggested by Toscanelli, *Le Origine italiche*, I. (1914), p. 219 (cf. p. 711), and by Sergi, *Italia: Le Origine* (1919). But the Oscan *i* is decisive.

dialect, who has travelled all the way to Syracuse solely to see two extremely short documents from Adernò held to be Sicel inscriptions (into that question I cannot enter here), will await his attempt at proof with interest.

These notes are interesting but largely speculative. I should have gladly discussed them at greater length but for want of space.

In Part II. the rules of accentuation of Greek words borrowed into Italian (through Latin) are discussed. This part will interest Romance philologists chiefly, though it may attract Latinists who do not restrict themselves to the classical language; but even did space allow, I cannot claim a knowledge of Italian intimate enough to justify detailed criticism. Orlando's conclusions (pp. 84 ff.) are briefly: (1) Italian words borrowed from Greek *via* Latin follow normally Latin rules of accentuation; (2) sometimes (a) it happens that the accent thus comes on the same syllable as that on which the Greek accent had stood, but (b), if this is not the case, the pronunciation of the word was altered so that the Italian derivatives follow this vulgar pronunciation (with the Latin accent); (3) in words like *Tàranto* the peculiarity of accentuation is due to special influences (cf. *Tàrantini*); therefore (4) in Italian borrowings (through Latin) from Greek it is wrong to speak of 'Italian words accentuated "alla greca"'; such coincidences as occur (sc. of the Italian with the Greek accent) are accidental, and go back, strictly speaking, to the accent of the word in Latin only (under the rules of accentuation of classical Latin) and *not* to the original Greek accent. J. WHATMOUGH.

(1) *Sénèque, Dialogues, tome second*. Texte établi et traduit par A. BOURGERY. 1\*.-10\* + 78 double pages. Paris, 1923. Fr. 9.

THIS second volume of an edition of Seneca's Dialogues resembles in form the earlier volumes of the series, the Budé or *Belles Lettres* Classics. Each of the two Dialogues (*De Vita Beata*, *De Breuitate Vitae*) has a short introduction, followed by text and translation, the text being printed on the right-hand page. Critical notes are added below the text, and occasional explanatory notes below the translation. Print and paper are good; the volumes are pleasant to look at and of convenient size.

M. Bourgery has long been a student of Seneca. In 1910 he discussed certain metrical rules which Seneca's prose was supposed to observe. But that method did not prove fruitful. When M. Laurand announced, in 1913, that these rules condemned Madvig's emendation of *Epp.* 89, 4 (*quid amet. for Quidam et*), the world drew from this statement an inference which was not M. Laurand's. M. Bourgery has also published, in 1922, an interesting collection of essays, called *Sénèque Prosateur*, and edited the *De Ira*. In his present volume he passes over some textual difficulties, e.g., *D.B.V.* vii. 1, without comment; and he is occasionally seduced by metrical canons; but his treatment of the text seems, in general, to be sound and sensible. His translation is far superior to the Bohn version, more accurate and better expressed.

An edition of Lucan by M. Bourgery in the same series is announced. The Budé Classics started later than the Loeb Library, but they go on much faster. It is to be noted that women are to edit two of the forthcoming volumes; perhaps they may eventually be entrusted with more difficult authors than Eutropius and Phaedrus.

(2) *La composition dans les ouvrages philosophiques de Sénèque*. Par EUGÈNE ALBERTINI. Pp. ix + 354. Paris: Boccard, 1923.

THIS elaborate study is devoted to a single point. Nothing is said, save incidentally, of the vocabulary or syntax of Seneca, or of what may be called his style: the writer's sole purpose is to examine the logical sequence and arrangement of topics in the Dialogues and Letters. The Natural Questions and Tragedies are reasonably excluded from this examination.

Such is the subject of this work; but the author has thought it necessary to begin by ascertaining, as far as possible, the date of each of the writings in question. It is not disputed that they were all written between 40 and 65 A.D., all the earlier works of Seneca having been lost; but within these dates there is considerable room for difference of opinion. All the evidence is contained in the writings themselves; and it is handled here with tact and patience. M. Albertini is far superior in these gifts to Gercke; indeed, no one need trouble in future to read Gercke's *Seneca-Studien*. Still, not a few of the dates adopted here are not really proved; Madvig's words remain true—*librorum Senecae praeter paucos tempora incerta sunt*.

How did a man of Seneca's natural ability and great acquirements come to write so badly? This is the real question discussed by M. Albertini. He dissects each treatise and letter with scrupulous care, points out what is amiss, and shows in the later chapters how Seneca came to be what he was and to write as he did. Of much interest is his account (pp. 304 ff.) of the 'diatribe,' the literary kind to which these writings belong. The 'diatribe' is of Cynic origin and is connected with the names of Bion and Teles; it is a lecture on a philosophic subject addressed to a popular audience. Some at least of Seneca's eccentricities become easier to understand, when we realise what he was trying to do.

The book is based on a thorough knowledge of Seneca's text and all that has been written by modern scholars about these works; the judgments are tactful; the style is clear and pleasant. The bibliography (pp. 326-343) seems to include all modern books and papers on the subject, French, German, English, and Italian; and references are given also to all important reviews of these books, which have appeared in the *Revue de Philologie* and the two *Wochen-schriften*. J. D. DUFF.

*Orphicorum fragmenta*. Collegit OTTO KERN. Pp. x + 407. Berlin: Weidmann, 1922. 5s. 6d.

THIS book gives a complete collection of *testimonia* for Orpheus and the Orphics, with the fragments of the Orphic poems. It is a

worthy successor to Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, and comes from a man who has in the last thirty years much advanced knowledge by his writings; well equipped with indices, excellently supplied with references, it should be a boon to every student of the subject. Its bibliographies are admirable, especially for these days. Two additions might now be made in the section giving the South Italian tablets (p. 104, n. 32): a reference to A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I. p. 676, for his brilliant interpretation of that puzzling phrase *ἐπιφορὸς ἐς γὰρ ἔπερον*, as implying a ritual boiling in milk (supported by F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, p. 89), and a reference to Macchiolo, *Zagreus*, p. 129, for his unlikely interpretation of *χαίρε παθὼν τὸ πᾶθμα* as referring to such a ritual flagellation as he with others sees in the Villa Igem paintings.

After receiving so much we naturally ask for more. When will Kroll or Kern give us the long-promised edition of the Orphic Hymns?

A. D. NOCK.

*Untersuchungen über das anonyme Buch de uiris illustribus*. Von HUGO BEHRENS.

Pp. 71. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1923. Paper, 4s.

Two manuscripts, one at Brussels and one at Oxford, give with the *Caesares* of Sextus Aurelius Victor and the *Origo gentis Romanae* a tractate *de uiris illustribus*. In the present monograph Behrens argues from omissions and other indications of shortening that this is composed of excerpts from a single source. Numerous as are its borrowings from Livy, it presents not infrequent divergences: since the *Periochae* show similar divergences and have many points of contact with the work under consideration, Behrens argues that the source of the latter used the hypothetical epitome of Livy which Wölfflin called into existence. This contention he regards as confirmed by coincidences with Florus, Ampelius, and Eutropius. From certain coincidences with extant lives of Suetonius he concludes that the latter's *de uiris illustribus* is the source of this anonymous book.

In urging this in his last chapter he is quite unconvincing. There is no reason to suppose that Suetonius' work covered the ground postulated: even if it did, there is no substantial case for supposing a connexion. We must accordingly regard this thesis as unproved.

A. D. NOCK.

*L'Epicureo Demetrio Lacone*. VITTORIO DE FALCO (*Biblioteca di filologia classica*, diretta da E. La Terza: Vol. II.). Pp. 111. Naples: Achille Cimmaruta, 1923. Paper, 20 lire.

THIS is another valuable Italian contribution to the history of Epicureanism, based on minute studies of the Herculanean rolls. The author, who is known to us by his edition of Iamblichus' *Theologumena Arithmeticae* in the Teubner series (1922), gives the *testimonia* for the life of Demetrius the Spartan, an Epicurean of the second century B.C., and a collection of the fragments of his works on philosophy, grammar,

poetry, and mathematics. In this he shows a thorough knowledge of the ancient material and of recent literature bearing on the subject. An *index uerborum* is to be desired, and should be added in a second edition; we hope that will be required, and that Mr. de Falco will give us more books of the same sort.

A. D. NOCK.

*De fragmenti Suetoniani de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus codicum nexu et fide.* By RODNEY POTTER ROBINSON (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, V. 4; November, 1920). Large 8vo. Pp. 195. 1922. Paper, \$2.

THIS book, which is produced in the splendid format which the University of Illinois Press has led us to expect, contains a careful discussion of the manuscripts of Suetonius *de grammaticis et rhetoribus*. It is the forerunner of a long-needed edition. The author had at his disposal photographs of all the extant manuscripts and early editions, and has worked with skill and success: but why in Latin?

A. D. NOCK.

*Eroticorum fragmenta papyracea.* Edidit B. LAVAGNINI. Pp. 48. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. 2s.

IN this handy little volume Lavagnini gives us the familiar 'Ninusroman' with its delightful ingénu, and some less known scraps of papyrus. He restores not a little in an experimental way *exempli gratia* with skill and ingenuity, and supplies convenient bibliographical notes. An *index nominum* and an *index uerborum* complete an excellent piece of work.

A. D. NOCK.

*The Significant Name in Terence.* By JAMES CURTISS AUSTIN (*University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, VII. 4; November, 1921). Pp. 130. University of Illinois Press. Paper, \$2.

THE device of the significant name, familiar to readers of Fielding and Trollope, was a common feature of ancient comedy. Mr. Austin has devoted this monograph to Terence's use thereof and its relation to the Greek originals. He has performed his task with skill and conscientiousness.

A. D. NOCK.

*Greek Religion to the Time of Hesiod.* By A. LE MARCHANT. Pp. viii+186. Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1923. 7s. 6d. net.

IT is hard to tell for what kind of reader this book is intended. Only a scholar could understand the many passages of difficult Greek which are quoted without translation. On the other hand, the scholar will be startled to find that there are no footnotes or index, and that the text contains hardly any references to the work of other students of early Greek religion, whose results, frequently of a very speculative nature, are appropriated without acknowledgement and stated as if they were established fact. Thus Chapter II. on 'The Religion of the

Ghostly' leaves the impression that prehistoric religion consisted in the worship of innumerable κῆρες, who are apparently identified with the nameless gods of Herod. ii. 52. The substance of the chapter seems to be taken from Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena*, but neither the book nor its author is mentioned. It is impossible to criticise a book constructed on this plan. The critic may recognise the sources of five-sixths of the material, but may be unable to tell what fraction of the remaining sixth is borrowed from sources he does not know. The only thing to be said is that books should not be so constructed. F. M. CORNFORD.

*Palaeographia Latina.* Part II. Edited by Professor W. M. LINDSAY (St. Andrews University Publications, XVI.). 8vo. Pp. 93. Three collotype plates. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1923. 5s.

THE first issue of *Palaeographia Latina* left no doubt as to the quality and importance of the publication. The second issue more than maintains the standard set by the first. In fact, it marks an improvement. There are more contributors as well as greater variety and scope in the contributions. To make clear the precise scope of the journal its editor states at the outset that it 'was designed to collect material for a future comprehensive *History of Latin Palaeography*, just as the *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie* paved the way for the great *Latin Thesaurus*.' Under the heading of 'Collectanea Varia' Professor Lindsay has given us very interesting notes on Explicit and Finit, Corrections of MSS., Aids to Readers, Scribes and their Ways, and on I-longa. The notes on the last-mentioned point suffer from a mechanical arrangement (by libraries), which is a pity, since few scholars are as capable as the editor of arranging the data by schools or groups, the only arrangement likely to bring out the significance of the evidence, if significance there be. Professor Lehmann discusses a fragment in Bâle written in what has been called the *a-z* type, of which a plate is given. Two other plates illustrate Professor Lindsay's article on MS. Berne 207. In *The Lyons Scriptorium* the late Dr. Tafel, whose death is a loss to palaeography, discusses the Lyons Cathedral Library, and the Library of Île Barbe. More about *The Lyons Scriptorium* is promised by the editor. The present issue closes with a bibliographical chapter by Professor W. Weinberger which, despite certain shortcomings, serves a very useful purpose. It would be well to gain space in this chapter by keeping out of it discussion of thorny palaeographical problems which cannot be solved *en passant*, and to devote that space to rendering the references more easily intelligible. To judge from the statement on pp. 82-3 (No. 13), Professor Weinberger belongs to those who believe with Beer that the pre-Columbian MSS. from Bobbio constitute the very library once owned by Cassiodorus. The friends of this theory are, it would seem, captivated by its attractiveness, but no one has yet thoroughly examined the evidence on which the hypothesis rests. From



a palaeographical point of view it is far from impeccable, as will be shown elsewhere. Here the reviewer can only sound a note of warning. Beer's theory was published a decade or so ago. The fact that it has received the approval of certain scholars and the direct disapproval of none must not be misinterpreted. The hypothesis is still *sub judice*. If all the evidence used in its support is as flimsy as that which is pressed into service in item 13 of Professor Weinberger's list, Beer's theory is doomed.

E. A. LOWE.

#### THE 'SIXTH TRIBRACH' IN THE IAMBIC TRIMETER.

PROFESSOR TUCKER (Introduction to his edition of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, p. xxxix), in an account of the senarius of comedy observes with especial reference to *Frogs* 1203 that there are 'no inconsiderable number of instances of a tribrach in the 6th foot.' In this connexion Professor Tucker includes 'anapaests' under 'tribrachs.' Current usage may be pleaded for the inaccuracy. But it must not be allowed to pass. For the metrical difference is important. *δελφᾶκτᾰ* violates the law of all classical iambic verse (that such must end with an iambus) by the form of the final foot. But *δελφᾶκιον* by its content (of quantity) as well. For such an ending cannot give a tribrach, unless the next verse begins with a vowel and there is also synaphea between the two verses. And this cannot be.

Mr. E. Harrison (*Classical Review*, 1923, p. 12a) has done some weeding of Professor Tucker's list; but there are still instances to discuss. Passing over Antiphanes *Arch.* 3 *ἐς τὰ φιδίτια*, as we do not know for certain the quantity of the first *ι* in this Laconian word, we have an undoubted example of the apparent 'tribrach' in Eubulus *Amalth.* (7. 9 Kock) *ὀπτὰ δελφᾶκια | ἀλῖπαστα τρία*. Here elision between the verses is impossible, since in all synaphea the final syllable of a line must have its normal metrical value. This applies also to Diphilus *Aphest.* 14. 2 (Kock) *βάφανος λιπαρά, σπλαγγυῖδια πολλά, σαρκῖδια | ἀπαλώτατ'* unless we read *σαρκία* with Schweighaüser. In *Fragm. adespota* 341 (Kock) the MSS. give for line 2 *κἄν μηδὲν ἀλλ' ἔχων διατράγη λυκῆθιον*, for which Porson's *θύλακον* is the received correction, though *θύλακον* giving an apparent 'anapaest' is slightly nearer to the tradition.

Professor Tucker goes on to note that in each of his examples there is an iota which may be slurred. If so, the sixth tribrach-anapaest would disappear, and, I imagine, no one would mourn. A short *ι* before a vowel is notoriously an unstable combination. A pertinent example of this is the weakening of the final syllables of nouns in *-ιος, -ιον* to *-ις, -ιν* (e.g. *κύρις, παιδιν*) in later Greek. This phenomenon, which has attained to regularity in the *-ι, -ιν* neuters, originally diminutives, of Modern Greek, first attracted attention in the dissertation of Lobeck on the abbreviation of proper names—e.g. of *Λυσίας* to *Λύσις*, *Pathologia Sermonis Graeci*,

pp. 500 ff. It is found in inscriptions of the classical period, Meisterhans' *Grammatik d. alt. Inschriften*, p. 74, n. 646. But Meisterhans' statement that 'appellatives' do not show it till the Imperial epoch has to be qualified from the evidence of the papyri, where we find it much earlier: P. Rev. Laws, col. 54. 3 *ἡλυδῖν* (B.C. 258), P. Tebtunis 67. 44 (B.C. 118), *ἐκφόριν*, and so in other Tebtunis papyri of B.C. 115-113 (*ἐκφόριον* in ib. 51. 55), *ἐπιστόδιν* ib. 34. 3 (B.C. 100); see Mayser *Grammatik d. gr. Papyri aus d. Ptolemäerzeit*, p. 260; also J. H. Moulton's notes in *Cl. Rev.* XV. 34, 434, XVIII. 109.<sup>1</sup> In the face of these facts we can hardly deny the possibility of words like *δελφᾶκιον* ending a senarius in the New Comedy with a pronunciation that involves no outrage on the structure of iambic verse. This pronunciation may have been in use elsewhere. But only in the sixth foot could it be detected.

We may now ask how far these contractions go back. It might be argued that Aristophanes has the fugitive iota occasionally. At *Acharn.* 777 *χοιρίδιον* is the reading of most MSS. and seemingly of the papyrus. But editors have taken *χοιρίον* from R which has *τὸ χοιρίον*. R, however, writes *χοιρίος* against the metre for *χοιρίδιος* in *Wasps* 573; and conversely *θυρίδιον* for *θύριον* in *Clouds* 92. In the celebrated scene of the *Frogs*, in which Aeschylus is ridiculing the Euripidean prologue and its construction, R twice presents *ληκύθιον* in the repeated verse ending *οὐχ ἔξει προσάψαι ληκύθιον*, where *λήκυθον* is given by the other MSS. (1216), or by some of them (1231), and is taken by most editors. In these passages it is the reading that is in doubt. There is no dispute about the reading in 1202 f., where Aeschylus, threatening Euripides that he will spoil all his prologues by means of the famous tag *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν*, says:

*ποιεῖς γὰρ οὕτως ὥστ' ἐναρμόττειν ἄπαν,  
καὶ κωδάριον καὶ ληκύθιον καὶ θυλάκιον,  
ἐν τοῖς λαμβέλοισι· δέλω δ' αὖτίκα.*

For *θυλάκιον* gives the only quantity of this word which will enable it to fit into the place of *ληκύθιον* in the tag. The doubt here rests on the scansion of line 1203. Does Aeschylus there break away from the comic senarii that he has been using hitherto (e.g. in 1200, where there are anapaests in feet 1, 2, 4) and present us instead with an anapaestic tripod, in order to pillory the excessive use of anapaests in Euripides (on which see Mr. Harrison's remarks in *Camb. Philol. Soc. Proceedings*, 1913, p. 13, and *Classical Review*, l.c., p. 13)? Or is he—a simpler hypothesis to my mind—thinking only of his tag and its application? In the latter case, with the assumption of a fugitive or liquescent iota, line 1203 will be a comic iambic trimeter in no wise remarkable.

J. P. POSTGATE.

June 14, 1923.

<sup>1</sup> These pronunciations were undoubtedly popular and colloquial, but not necessarily 'illiterate' as Moulton suggests.

## OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S REPORT.

MEETING at Oriel College, March 7, 1924. Summary of paper by Professor W. Rhys Roberts, on 'Some Moot Points in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, with Suggestions for a New Edition.' (1) Revised Greek text needed. Cope's text, published nearly fifty years ago, was out of date even then. Roemer's edition (1898) follows closely the best manuscript (P 1741), but is deformed by many errors. Some gleanings still to be had from Dionysius (especially the *First Letter to Ammaeus*), Demetrius, the Scholia, and the *Vetusta Translatio*. (2) English translation facing Greek text. The future translator would be much helped if a comprehensive Aristotelian Grammar—a general study of Aristotle's language and style—were to be produced. To take superficially easy instances, what is the true English and the exact meaning of the imperfect ἔλεγε, or of the first singular and the first plural in λέγω and λέγομεν? What were the habits of Aristotle, and of Greek writers generally, in using *author's I*, or *author's We*, or in avoiding both alike? The Greek first person plural, being as Protean as the English 'we,' could have such various meanings as 'people at large,' 'myself' (of an author), 'we Greeks,' 'we Athenians,' 'we Platonists,' or as in ἡμῖν as opposed to ἀπλῶς or πρὸς ἡμᾶς as opposed to κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα. Where author-

ship was in question, Isocrates' usage and influence would particularly repay attention. (3) Glossary of rhetorical terms and terms of literary criticism, with equivalents in English, Latin, and modern continental languages—e.g., πῖστος and τὸ ξενικόν. (4) Notes, few and brief. A full commentary existed already in Cope's treasure-house of learning, scholarship, and good sense. The thing needed was a workmanlike one-volume edition for students, and general readers, who could not lavish on the *Rhetoric* the minute word-by-word attention given to the *Poetics*, *Ethics*, and *Politics*. (5) Appendices, offering a compact general survey of recurring difficulties—e.g., the identification of the Personal Names found in the treatise. (6) Introduction, discussing (a) practical side (recent tendency to stress this unduly both in *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*: Bywater's interpretation of ἡμᾶς in *Poetics* 1454b 9 and *Rhetoric* 1366a 12 could not be accepted); and (b) relation of *Rhetoric* to Plato, to τεχνουργοί, papyrus-fragments, and *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (the authorship of which required fuller consideration in the light of the Hibeh Papyrus and the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία). Though lending itself to criticism in certain aspects, the *Rhetoric* was a great work and one of living interest.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).  
(1924)

ANTIQUITIES.—January 7. U. Kahrstedt, *Griechisches Staatsrecht. I. Band: Sparta und seine Symmachie*. [Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1922] (A. E. R. Boak). K. starts several new theories—e.g., that the Helots were Dorians, reduced to serfdom by economic causes. He shows skill in using medieval analogies and disengaging the real evidence from the interpretations put on it by ancient authors.—January 21. La R. Van Hook, *Greek Life and Thought* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1923] (H. L. Crosby). Praised as a generally reliable and highly readable summary.

EDUCATION.—March 17. L. Bérard, *Pour la Réforme Classique de l'Enseignement Secondaire* [Paris: Armand Colin, 1923] (A. P. Ball). A collection of documents relative to the recent decree making Greek and Latin compulsory in French Lycées: it includes a report of the debate on the subject in the Chamber. Bérard insists that the 1902 system of alternative curricula has been condemned by its result in the deterioration of the pupils' French.

LITERATURE.—February 4. H. Fränkel, *Die Homerischen Gleichnisse* [Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1921] (S. E. Bassett). An examination of the contents and purpose

of all the similes, with long interpretations. F. believes in the stratification of the poems, and traces the development from 'earlier' to 'later' similes.

PHILOLOGY.—January 7. A. W. de Groot, *Die Anaptyxe im Lateinischen* [Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1921] (E. H. Sturtevant). A study based on the variations from standard spelling found in inscriptions and MSS. A valuable collection of materials; but de G. is not always a safe guide either in phonetics or in grammar. S. draws several inferences neglected by de G.

[The issues of February 4, February 25, and March 17 contain lists of articles on classical subjects in non-classical periodicals.]

## MUSÉE BELGE, XXVII. No. 4.

OCTOBER, 1923.

T. Zielinski, *La Sibylle et la Fin de Rome*. Sibylline fears attached to 183, a millennium from Troy, and to 83, 73, 63, 53, 43 B.C.—M. Rostovtzeff, *La Crise sociale et politique de l'Empire romain au III<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. Peasant armies (and the Emperors they chose) steadily warred on the city bourgeoisie.—R. Scalais, *La Restauration de l'Agriculture sicilienne par les Romains*.—N. Vulic (Belgrade), *Les deux Dacies*. Dacia in two provinces from 343, and possibly from Aure-

lian.—P. Graindor, II. *Les Athéniens à l'Époque d'Auguste*. Contribution à la Prosopographia Attica.—F. J. M. De Waele, *La Signification de ΔΕΚΑΝ dans la plus ancienne Inscr. attique*.

XXVIII. No. 1, JANUARY, 1924.

A. Carnoy, *Origine des verbes grecs en -άω*.—J. Herbillon, *Artemis Triclaria*. Ancient 'Ionian' cult at Patrae with human sacrifice (Paus. xii. 19-20): affinities with Cretan and Anatolian goddess.—J. H. Baxter, *Addenda et Corrigenda Thesauri linguae latinae*.—G. Hinnisdaels, *Minucius Felix est-il antérieur à Tertullien?* Yes, as against Heinze and Van Wageningen.—A. Vitale, *Iniquità della procedura romana contro i Cristiani: Tertulliano e Giustino*.—F. J. M. De Waele, *XPYZAOP*. Keeps original sense of ἀοπ, 'arrow'.—R. Fohalle, *Études lexicologiques: viocurus, glaucivodus*.—H. Janssens, *À propos de la Casa Romuli*. A supposed C.R. still existed in 5th A.D.—A. Severyns, *À propos de l'Aetna*. Favourably reviews Vessereau's edition (Paris, 1923), but rejects his defence of Virgilian authorship.—P. d'Hérouville, *Les Sciences chez les Anciens*. Their achievement considerable; well treated in Laurand's Manuel.

MUSÉE BELGE: BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE,  
XXVII., No. X. (OCTOBER, 1923.)

GREEK.—*Euripides*: M. Mario, *Les Bacchantes* [Paris, Payot, 1923]. Translation, with notes and study of Dionysiac religion. Favourable (A. Willem).—G. Italie, *Hyphyla*, cum notis crit. et exeget. [Berlin, Ebering, 1923]. A serious contribution to study of Eur. (Willem). *Plato*: R. Nihard, *Ion* [Liège, Dessain, 1923]. Good school edition (Willem).—*Xenophon*: J. H. Thiel, *ΠΟΡΟΙ* cum proleg. et comm. [Vienna, 1922]. Scholarly edition (Willem).

LATIN.—*Tacitus*: F. Doudinot de la Boissière, *T., Oeuvres choisies* [Paris, Hatier, 1923]. Large selection with comm., etc. Very conscientious (Willem).—*Virgil*: K. Witte, *Der bukoliker Vergil* [Stuttgart] and *Horas und Vergil*. Kritik oder Abbau? [Erlangen, 1922.] Professes to explain in detail the symmetry he finds in Virgil (and Theocr.). Hor. *Epod.* 16 composed on same technique. 'Arithmomachie' (J. Hubaux).

GENERAL.—E. Bosshardt, *Essai sur l'Originalité et la Probité de Tertullien dans son Traité contre Marcion* [Lausanne, 1921]. Favourable (P. Debourthay).—L. V. Jacks, *St. Basil and Greek Literature* [Washington, 1922]. Useful dissertation (J. Levie).—H. Grégoire, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*. Fasc. I. [Paris, 1922] Favourable (P. Graindor).

XXVIII., Nos. 1-3. JANUARY, 1924.

GREEK.—*Demosthenes*: L. Vorndran, *Die Aristocratea als Advokatenrede und ihre politische Tendenz* [Paderborn, 1922]. In-

genious (A. Willem).—*Euripides*: O. Lagercrantz, *Hippolytus*. Einige Stellen besprochen [Uppsala and Leipzig, 1922.] Favourable (Willem).—*Philosophy*: Vittorio de Falco, *L'Epicureo Demetrio Lacone* [Naples, Cimmaruta, 1923, 20 lire]. Favourable (H. Janssens). *Pythagoras*: A. Delatte, *Essai sur la politique pythé*. [Liège and Paris: Champion, 25 fr.] and *La Vie de P. de Diogène Laërce*, éd. critique avec introd. et comm. [Brussels, Lamertin, 1922, 20 fr.] Both highly praised by J. Hubaux.

LATIN.—*Cicero*: H. de la Ville de Mirmont. *Verr. Act. II.*, Lib. II.: la préture de Sicile: texte établi et traduit [Paris, Soc. d'éd. 'Les Belles Lettres', 1923, 12 fr.] Favourable (R. Scalais).—*Minucius Felix*: J. Van Wageningen, *Octavius* [2 vols., Ruys, Utrecht, 1923]. Edition has solid merits (G. Hinnisdaels).

GENERAL.—H. Welschinger, *Tacite et Mirabeau* [Paris, 1914]. Includes a translation of *Agr.* made by M. in prison.—J. Marouzeau, *Le Latin*, Dix Causeries [Paris, Didier, 1923, 7 fr.] Of great interest to teachers (Jeanne Hubaux).—F. Dürrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*. Tome I., fasc. 1 and 2 (latter 25 fr.) [Paris, Leroux, 1922-3]. Admirably edited, with rich historical commentary (O. Jacob).—F. J. Tausend, *Studien zu attischen Festen nach den Aristophanesscholien* [Diss. Würzburg, 1920]. Establishes some details, but chiefly shows badness of text of Scholia (A. Willem).

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLAS-  
SISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC.

(LIII./LIV. 4, 1924.)

J. Huber, *De lingua antiquissimorum Graeciae incolarum* [= Commentationes Aenipontanae, IX., 1921] (E. Kalinka). Warmly praised. H. has collected nearly 550 words which pass a combination of philological tests suggestive of pre-Greek origin. The majority of these are names of plants and animals (largely marine), but many are connected with building, dress, war, music, song, royalty, etc.—*Tituli Asiae Minoris. Vol. II.: Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti, Fasc. I.: Pars Lyciae occidentalis cum Xantho oppido. Enarravit E. Kalinka* [Vienna, 1920] (H. Swoboda). Admirable in every way.—K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte. 2<sup>e</sup> neugestaltete Auflage. III. 1.* [Berlin-Leipzig, 1922] (H. Philipp). Thoroughly revised: covers period from Lysander to Aristotle and conquest of Asia. Especially interesting are the population statistics, which prove rapid extinction of old ruling races.—W. Klein, *Vom antiken Rokoko* (Vienna, 1921) (H. L. Ulrichs). Long and detailed review. U. begins by quoting from K.: 'The rococo movement in ancient art began in the home of the baroque in Asia Minor, as a counter-movement, in the second quarter of the second century, and died out at Rome in the third quarter of the first century.' In spite of misleading use of aesthetic catchwords, arbitrary dating, mis-

interpretations of texts, and other faults, it is an interesting and valuable attempt to grapple with a big problem.—B. Schweitzer, *Herakles* [Tübingen, 1922]. S. writes a spirited protest against E. Bethe's severe review in the preceding number: Bethe does not intend to reply.

### PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1924.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—*Aretaeus*. Edidit C. Hude [Leipzig, 1923, Teubner. Pp. xxv+183] (Fuchs). In general good, at times brilliant.—P. Friedländer, *Der grosse Alcibiades. Zweiter Teil. Kritische Erörterung* [Bonn, 1923, Cohen. Pp. 68] (Nestle). Skilful use of every available argument in support of the genuineness of the dialogue.

LATIN LITERATURE.—*Poetae latini minores. Vol. II., 2. Ovidi Nux. Consolatio ad Liviam. Priapea*. Post Aem. Baehrens iterum recensuit F. Vollmer [Leipzig, 1923. Pp. 80] (Hosius). Edited with V.'s habitual carefulness.—*L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium epistularum moralium libri I.-XIII.* Ad codicem praecipue Quirianum recensuit A. Beltrami [Brescia, 1916. Pp. xlv+402] (Hense). Prepared with considerable suc-

cess and sound judgment, though B. is too partial to 'Q.' Long and detailed review.

PHILOSOPHY.—A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère* [Paris, 1923, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Pp. xvi+504] (W. Schmid). Though superficial and devoid of new ideas, nevertheless B. writes with skill, taste, and a feeling for essentials. Reviewer summarises and criticises at some length.

LINGUISTIC.—H. Bender, *The Home of the Indo-Europeans* [Princeton, 1922, University Press] (Helck). Unprejudiced and discriminating; a very probable hypothesis.

METRIC.—F. Marx, *Molossische und baccheische Wortformen in der Verskunst der Griechen und Römer* [Abh. d. sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse. Bd. xxxvii., 1, 1922] (Drexler). Invaluable progress in some sections, in others M. goes sadly astray. Long and important review with detailed summary and criticism.

LEXICOGRAPHY.—G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, Vol. I.* [Leipzig, 1923, Teubner. Pp. vii+431] (Hosius). 'Feliciter Goetzio bono scholastico.' Successful conclusion of a monumental work.

## CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,

I look forward with great interest to the amended statement which my friend Professor Postgate proposes to make when occasion offers (*C.R.*, 1924, p. 47). My object in writing this brief letter is not to dispute the facts to which he calls attention—facts which seem to point inevitably to the conclusion at which he arrives—but simply to remind him and your readers of the existence of other facts (of an entirely different order) which have also to be taken into consideration in this connexion—viz., the actual measurements of the syllables in question by means of the kymograph. It was on the basis of these measurements that I ventured to criticise the doctrine (not based on experiment) that all syllables that end in a consonant are necessarily long. My experi-

ments with the kymograph do not support this; in a word like *aît* the second syllable (*it*), when followed by a word beginning with a vowel (e.g., *ille*), does not reach the dimensions of a long syllable, though its duration is somewhat greater than that of the first syllable (*a*): the vowel *plus* the consonant have a duration which must be classified as relatively short. This observation throws an entirely new light upon the vexed question of so-called 'length by position' and the supposed necessity of transferring the final consonant in such instances to the next syllable (e.g., *a-i-tille*). But it would take far too much space to set forth the facts in this letter. They will shortly be published in my forthcoming book on Rhythm. Meanwhile I ask for suspension of judgment.

Yours faithfully,

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.*

*\*\* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

Bechtel (F.) Die griechischen Dialekte. Zweiter Band: Die westgriechischen Dialekte. Pp. vii+951. Dritter Band: Der ionische Dialekt. Pp. ix+353. Berlin: Weidmann, 1924. Paper, 24 and 12 Marks.

Bell (E.) Early Architecture in Western Asia.

A historical outline. Pp. xvi+252; 110 illustrations, maps, and plans. London: G. Bell, 1924. Cloth, 10s. net.

Beloch (K. J.) Griechische Geschichte. Zweite neugestaltete Auflage. Dritter Band, bis auf Aristoteles und die Eroberung Asiens. Zweite

- Abteilung. Pp. x+504. Berlin u. Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1923. Geh., 16 Marks.
- Bilabel* (F.) Die kleineren Historikerfragmente auf Papyrus. Pp. 64. (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 149.) Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1923. Paper, 1.60 Goldmark.
- Bornecque* (H.) Ovide: L'Art d'Aimer. Texte établi et traduit par H. B. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1924. Paper.
- Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé.* No. 1., octobre, 1923; No. 2, janvier, 1924.
- Bury* (J. B.), *Barber* (E. A.), *Bevan* (E.), *Tarn* (W. W.) The Hellenistic Age. Pp. vii+151. Cambridge: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Butler* (H. E.) and *Cary* (M.) M. Tulli Ciceronis de Provinciis Consularibus Oratio ad Senatum, edited with introduction, notes, and appendices. Pp. 110. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Clark* (D. L.) Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance. A study of rhetorical terms in English renaissance literary criticism. Pp. x+166. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.) New York: Columbia University Press (London: Milford), 1922. Cloth, 9s. net.
- Conger* (G. P.) Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy. Pp. xviii+146. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Milford), 1922. Paper, 10s. 6d. net.
- Cookson* (C.) Cicero the Advocate, being the Pro Milone and Pro Murena partly in the original and partly in translation, edited by C. C. Pp. 170. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Cooper* (L.) The Poetics of Aristotle: Its Meaning and Influence. Pp. x+157. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) London, etc.: Harrap, 1924. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Cunnington* (M. E.) The Early Iron Age Inhabited Site at All Cannings Cross Farm, Wiltshire. Pp. 204; 53 plates. Devices: G. Simpson and Co., 1923. Cloth, 25s.
- Cuntz* (O.) Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus: Galliae, Germania, Raetia, Noricum, Pannoniae, Illyricum, Italia. Handschriften, Texte und Untersuchung. Pp. vii+226; 3 maps. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923. Paper, 10 Marks.
- Darkó* (E.) Laonici Chalcocandylae Historiarum Demonstrationes ad fidem codicum recensuit, emendavit annotationibusque criticis instruxit E. D. Tomi II. pars prior libros V.-VII. continens. Pp. 146. Budapestini: sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae, 1923. Paper.
- De Burgh* (W. G.) The Legacy of the Ancient World. Pp. xvi+462. London: Macdonald and Evans; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924. Cloth, 15s. net.
- Dessau* (H.) Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit. Erster Band: bis zum ersten Thronwechsel. Pp. viii+585. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924. Paper.
- Diels* (A.) Platon: Œuvres Complètes. Tome VIII., 2<sup>e</sup> partie: Théétète. Texte établi et traduit par A. D. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1924. Paper.
- Dodds* (E. R.) Select Passages illustrating Neoplatonism. Translated, with an introduction, by E. R. D. Pp. 127. (Translations of Early Documents.) London: S.P.C.K., 1923. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Duff* (J. Wight). The Writers of Rome. Pp. 112. (The World's Manuals.) London: Milford, 1923. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Eitrem* (S.) Die Versuchung Christi. Mit Nachwort von A. Fridrichsen. Pp. 37. Grøndahl og Søn's Boktrykkeri, 1924. Unbound.
- Eitrem* (S.) Les Papyrus magiques grecs de Paris. Pp. 49; 3 plates. Kristiania: Dybwad, 1923. Paper.
- Götze* (A.) Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit. Eine geographische Untersuchung. Mit einer Karte. Pp. 32. Heidelberg: Winter, 1924. Paper, 1s. 8d.
- Greene* (W. C.) The Achievement of Greece. A chapter in human experience. Pp. ix+334. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press (London: Milford), 1923. Cloth, 16s. net.
- Hagendahl* (H.) Die Perfektformen auf *-ere* und *-erunt*. Ein Beitrag zur Technik der spätlateinischen Kunstprosa. Pp. 46. (Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. 22: 3.) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1923. Paper, 1 kr. 50 öre.
- Hagendahl* (H.) Studia Ammianea. Dissertatio inauguralis. Pp. xvi+143. (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1921.) Uppsala: A.-B. Akademiska Bokhandeln. Paper, 7 kr. 50 öre.
- Hyde* (W. W.) Greek Religion and its Survivals. Pp. ix+230. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) London, etc.: Harrap, 1924. Cloth, 5s. net.
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# The Classical Review

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1924

## EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

WE welcome two new classical quarterlies from France, both born last autumn. The *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* cleaves close to the Association and its excellent work, and some of the articles are prefatory to certain volumes of the Collection des Universités de France; but room is found for a few more general papers, such as A. Meillet's 'Ce que les linguistes peuvent souhaiter d'une édition,' or L. Havet's page on the duty of orthography: 'Tous les ans je dis à mes élèves que c'est une probité de prononcer *Kikero* et *Lougdownoun*. L'orthographe latine de l'Association Guillaume Budé est une probité, elle aussi.' The *Revue des Études Latines* is the organ of the Société des Études Latines, which was

founded early in 1923. The first number includes Havet's latest views on Palaeographic Man, a survey of the present state of the study of mediaeval Latin, and a few reviews.

We hear on good authority the news of the discovery, at Leyden, of a palimpsest of Sophocles, own brother to *L*, with the same *scholia* and all. Much can be read, and the manuscript is to be published; it is hoped that a photographic process will shew up the nether script. Unfortunately, the prospects of improving the text from this source appear to be slight: the new readings have been pronounced to be for the most part slips which were corrected at once.

## VERSION

### HIS LAST SONNET.

BRIGHT Star! would I were steadfast as thou art—  
Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night,  
And watching, with eternal lids apart,  
Like Nature's patient, sleepless Eremite,  
The moving waters at their priest-like task  
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores,  
Or gazing on the new soft fallen mask  
Of snow upon the mountains and the moors—  
No—yet still steadfast, still unchangeable,  
Pillow'd upon my fair love's ripening breast,  
To feel for ever its soft fall and swell,  
Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,  
Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,  
And so live ever—or else swoon to death.

JOHN KEATS.

Φέσπερ' ὦ πῆλανγες, ἐπικρέμασθαι  
φέγγος ἔξ ὄρφνας ὀνέχων ἔρημον,  
ἀφθίταν ὦραν πρόπολος τὴν μὲν δέ-  
δορκας αὔπνος,

ὅππ' ἐρείσας ἀκάματον, θάλασσαν  
ἀπαρ' ἄκταις πάντος' ἐπιρρέοισα  
κυμάτων λώτροισι βρότων ἄλιτρα  
πάντα κοθαίρει,

καὶ πλάκας τ' ἄθρης κορύφαις τ' ὀρένναις  
ἐντυπας χθίσδα χιόνι χροαίαις,

τοὶ δὲ κήνων μὲν πεδέχην ἐμὸν κῆρ  
οὐ τι ποθῆι,

ἀλλὰ κήγων αἶθ' ἴσα τοὶ βέβαιος  
στήθεσ' ὠραίοισι κόρας ἐράννας  
προσκληθῆναι τὰν κεφάλαν, τὰ δὴ με  
μήποτα λάθοι

ἤρεμ' αἰωρήμεν', ἔγω δ' αὔπνος  
ἄβρα πνενοίσας χάριτι πτοάθεις  
ὦδ' αἶ ζῶνι θέλω, ἢ κρετήθεις  
ἦκα θανοῖην.

GILBERT NORWOOD.

G

THE INTERPRETATION OF AESCHYLUS' *PERSAE*.

A CENTURY ago, Blomfield, in the introduction to his edition of the *Persae*, made the following observation: 'Est autem fatendum Aeschylum in *Persarum exodo* aliquantum a dignitate tragoediae descivisse. Valde enim ridicula est Xerxis persona cum lamentis suis, et laceris pannis, et vacua pharetra: sed longe magis ridiculum Chori obsequium, dum varios doloris exprimendi modos, a Xerxe edoctus, adhibet. Verum hoc a poeta consilio factum fuisse arbitror, ut Atheniensibus risum moveret.' A German scholar, Siebelis (whose work I have been unable to procure), detected a spirit of ridicule in the messenger's speech. Others, on the same evidence, have accused Aeschylus of a lapse from his usual tragic dignity. G. Hermann and M. Patin, to take two instances on the opposite side, have met these statements with a flat denial.

The difference of opinion is interesting, and raises a question of fundamental importance for the understanding of the *Persae*. Everything depends on the standpoint from which we view the play. The question, to put the contrast in its extremest form, is whether we are to regard the *Persae* as the tragedy of the Persians or as the dramatic representation of the triumph of Hellas over the barbarian. The first interpretation extends a measure of sympathy to the anxious old guardians, lays stress on the motherly solicitude of Atossa, represents the messenger as purely and simply overcome with the disaster to his countrymen, depicts Darius as uttering a warning against vainglory to the Greeks, and tends to mitigate the final humiliation of Xerxes. The second recognises some of these elements, but keeps them strictly subordinate to the main theme of the victory of Greece and the discomfiture of her enemy.

I propose to make a rapid survey of the *Persae* from the second point of view, and to attempt to show that 'comic' or 'undignified' features exist and are essential, but that they admit of an interpretation which is less unworthy of Aeschylus and his audience.

For the sake of convenience I shall criticise some opinions put forward by M. Patin in his chapter on the *Persae* in *Études sur les Tragiques Grecs*. That eloquent critic, to whom students of Greek tragedy owe so much, has analysed our play with masterly insight, but, in his zeal to combat the idea of an element of satire or un-tragic humour, appears to have weakened his own argument.

Before going any further, however, it is necessary to form a clear conception of the setting and the special occasion of the *Persae*. All Greek plays require for their proper appreciation a knowledge of Greek ways of thinking. The *Persae*, above all others, for the very reason that it is concerned with an historical event, demands that we should enter to the fullest possible extent into the mind of the Athenians, who were intimately connected with that event and presumably felt strongly about it. Eight years before the performance they had, by a supreme effort, beaten back the invading hordes of Persia, and freed themselves from slavery. Their enemy was still a power to reckon with. It was not till four years later that the victory on the Eurymedon drove him from the coast of Asia Minor. Athens, as the head of a league, was still engaged in winning back the towns and islands (Greek towns and islands) which had once been subject to the Mede. Whatever may have been the impression made by the first play of the trilogy, the *Phineus*, we can imagine the intense excitement of the audience when the time came for the presentation of the drama of Salamis and Plataea, with a cast of Persians. Incidentally it may be noticed that the dramatic genius of Aeschylus does not consist in his having put Persians on the stage. It is difficult to see how a tragedy could have been composed except by choosing the vanquished as the dramatis personae. Phrynichus had made a mistake in judgment in dramatising the capture of Miletus at all, and suffered for wounding the susceptibilities of his audience. He was on safe ground when he repeated



the experiment with the *Phoenissae*, anticipating Aeschylus in his subject and in the first prize which marked its approval. Dramatic skill consisted far more in making a striking and dignified use of the given material. To return—is it likely that the Athenians were going to look on as neutrals, and extend to the Persians that measure of sympathy which would lead to the tragic *κάθαρσις* of pity and terror in view of their sufferings? It would be safer not to apply that principle at all. The *Persae* is unlike other dramas. But there was no lack of interest and of heightened emotion inherent in the subject. They were to witness the punishment of ὕβρις, and the chastisement was to be at their own hands.

Keeping this in mind we may go on to examine the play more in detail. The opening Chorus, in spite of the forebodings of the old men, presents a vivid, even menacing, picture of the mustering of the great army. From Persia, Egypt, Lydia, Mysia, and Babylon, they come, δειναῖς βασιλέως ὑπὸ πομπαῖς. They are represented as a torrent, a resistless sea-wave—ἀπρόσοιστος γὰρ ὁ Περσῶν στρατός ἀλκίφρων τε λαός. And there is the great King himself, with the dark steely eye of a deadly python, mounted on his Syrian chariot, and filled with his grandiose scheme of conquest—ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χθόνα ποιμανόριον θεῖον ἐλαύνει. The gloomy premonitions of the Chorus should be regarded, from the standpoint of the Athenians, as an anticipation, designed to rouse interest and curiosity, of *what they knew was coming*. It put them in the right frame of mind by hinting at divine powers (ἀπάταν θεοῦ) at work behind the scenes.

This mood of anticipation is intensified by Atossa's account of her dream and of the portent of the eagle and the hawk. The disaster is drawing near, so near that she betrays herself with an 'if,' but tries to cover up the unlucky admission by quickly adding—'he cannot be called to account by the state, and in any case if he escapes alive he is ruler of the land.'

The elders give an encouraging interpretation of the dream, and then we come to fourteen lines of στιχομυθία following on Atossa's question, 'In

what part of the world do they say Athens is situated?' Among other explanations it has been suggested (e.g. by Patin) that such a question would seem natural in view of the secluded life of women in antiquity. But it is not historically true of Atossa, if we are to believe Herodotus; and we have no right to suppose that Aeschylus was not as well-informed as his contemporaries. Would it not be more reasonable to suppose that we are here dealing with that kind of 'oratio obliqua' which pervades the whole play? We have had a description of the Persian armada. The time has come for a companion picture of the Greeks; and, though it occupies little space, we can imagine nothing finer. The audience must have glowed as they listened to their own praises, more significant in the mouths of Persians in distant Susa; and what deep chords must have vibrated to these lines:

ΑΤ. τίς δὲ ποιμάνωρ ἔπεστι κάπιδεσπόζει στρατῶ;  
ΧΟ. οὐτινος δούλοι κέκληνται φωτὸς οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

The messenger enters at line 249, and his narrative, starting amid the lamentations of the Chorus, then guided, after she has broken her dramatic silence, by the questions of Atossa, holds our attention till line 514. I shall not enlarge on the well-known merits of this splendid piece of descriptive writing, but confine myself to certain features which bear on the present argument. The tone of the narrative is defined by a number of expressions, which commentators have noticed, but which give rise to different explanations. Let us take one by way of example.

καὶ Μᾶγος Ἀραβος, Ἀρτάβης τε Βάκτριος  
σκληρᾶς μέτοικος γῆς ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο.

'A settler in a rugged land.' It is not enough to say that the messenger is merely speaking in character like the watchman of the *Agamemnon*, or with *une sorte de complaisance* in his tale of woe—as Patin remarks, supporting his view by an interesting quotation, from Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*, about the common foible of inferiors when they thus find themselves an object of importance in the eyes of their superiors. Xerxes himself uses words with exactly the same nuance, στυφελοῦ θείνοντας ἐπ' ἀκτῆς (964-5, cp. 303). Nor is it true to say

here that these expressions rise naturally to the lips of a man overcome with the pathos of an overwhelming change of fortune. Are they then *un appel volontaire à la gaieté des Athéniens*, the view of Siebelis as stated, to be strongly condemned, by Patin? If I am right about the attitude of the audience, they were an appeal, but certainly not to *gaieté*. The Athenians remembered the hardships of the migration to Salamis, the burning of Athens, the awful suspense, the hard knocks of the battle, and their unexpected triumph. And Aeschylus remembered as well as anyone. These expressions appeal to a deep sense of danger overpast, of the aggressor's fall; a feeling which is gratified here by pictures of Artembares 'being dashed against the rocky shores of Sileniae,' of Dadakes 'under the shock of a spear leaping with a light spring overboard' (it is significant that the parallel passage, *Iliad* XVI. 745, is spoken by an enemy), of Tenagon 'moving to and fro about the surf-beaten isle of Aias' (and if *πολεῖ* is corrupt *σποδεῖ* gives excellent sense), of Matallos 'soaking in death his thick bushy red beard,' of Tharybis, *εὐειδὴς ἀνὴρ*, lying dead, *οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς*. If it is objected that this is nothing but the crude spirit of revenge, three things must be remembered. We are dealing with a national celebration; national feeling has always claimed greater freedom of speech than individual; and, above all, we have to reckon with the sublimation of emotion which art alone can achieve. A curious analogy is to be found in Moses' song of thanksgiving for the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. 'They sank to the bottom as a stone.' 'Thou sentest forth thy wrath which consumed them as stubble.' 'They sank as lead in the mighty waters.'

So 'pro-Greek' is the whole of the first part, and much of the rest, of the messenger's speech, that one is tempted to see in lines 326-8 a tribute to a gallant foe. It must have been a sense of the difference of tone which induced Dawes to read *δέ* for *τε*. Similarly one might be led into taking lines 374-383 as referring to the Greek sailors, but that would require further examination.

As additional instances of an appeal

to the audience, we may note the words *ἐρράχιζον* (426) and *κρεοκοποῦσι* (463), 'hack in pieces sma'' (even *δυστήνων* is not against this interpretation, because it could convey the sense of 'wretches' to Athenian ears).

The next Chorus (532-597) is the veritable song of victory of the Greeks. Notice the opening words, *ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ*, which are exactly the words of the Chorus in the *Agamemnon* (355) celebrating the capture of Troy. Again, at 584-594 the dramatic fiction appears to be broken through and we seem to hear a Greek speaking.

οὐκέτι περσονομοῦνται  
οὐδ' ἐτι δασμοφοροῦσιν.

Most editors have been forced to change *ἄρξονται* (589) into *ἄζονται*, so distinct is the impression of the other present tenses.

I pass over the introductory statement of Atossa and come to the invocation of Darius' ghost and the latter's strangely impressive pronouncements to Atossa and the Chorus (623-842). If the preceding part of the play is inspired by feelings of secular triumph, these feelings are now to be purified by a knowledge of the moral and religious principles involved, and deepened by a prediction of the victory of Plataea. The 'ironical' element is less prominent, as we might expect. But the warning *μέμνησθ' Ἀθηναίων Ἑλλάδος τε* could not but call up (as at 285 and 287) *δέσποτα μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων* (Herod. V. 105) or its equivalent, with a new and grim meaning; just like Atossa's *πικρὰν τιμωρίαν* (473), in which direct statement takes the place of allusion. The summary of Persian history (765-786), which would be quite out of place if intended for the information of the elders, is explained by the last two lines:

ἅπαντες ἡμεῖς οἱ κράτη τὰδ' ἔσχομεν  
οὐκ ἂν φανεῖμεν πῆματ' ἔρξαντες τόσα.

It brings home to the Athenians the full extent of their victory. Darius' farewell to the Chorus is a puzzle. Its mysteriousness seems to be intentional. But, as so much has been said of the *πλοῦτος* of the Persians, we should perhaps once more take the Athenian standpoint and recognise a touch of sarcasm. The old men, who, as Persians, had lived for *πλοῦτος*, are to make the

most of what *πλούτος* remains, because *πλούτος* is no benefit to the dead.

Atossa in a few lines (845-851) expresses her anxiety chiefly about the state of her son's clothing, and departs to try to be ready to meet him with a new robe. There is no denying the reality of Atossa as a queen and the mother of Xerxes, but here again we are being led up to the final scene.

Then the Chorus recalls the greatness of Darius and his many conquests. The familiar names of Greek towns and islands which Athenian enterprise had won, or was winning, back—all find a place. And the *raison d'être* of this enumeration is given in lines 904-906. The Persians have been robbed of them by the defeat at Salamis.

The note of triumph rises again with the entry of Xerxes. Jacobs, as Hermann says, was right when he described the *Persae* as something like a cantata. We hear in the anapaests which recur among other metres an echo of the bolder anapaests of the opening chorus:

ποῦ δὲ σοὶ παραστάται,  
οἷος ἦν Φαρανδάκης,  
Σούσας, Πελάγων,  
Δοτάμας, ἡδ' Ἀγδαβάτας, Ψάμμis,  
Σουσισκάνης τ' ;

And the answer is :

ἔρροντας ἐπ' ἀκταῖς  
Σαλαμινιάσι στυφελοῦ  
θείνοντας ἐπ' ἀκτῆς.

It is strange that Teuffel and Wecklein should have maintained that Xerxes did not appear on the stage in rags, in spite of the clear meaning of the line—

ὁρᾷς τὸ λοιπὸν τότε τὰς ἐμὰς σταλᾶς ;

It comes of taking too much to heart the criticism in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. But there is nothing in common between the Euripidean practice of putting ragged kings on the stage to excite pity and the final humiliation of Xerxes. Besides, there would be something incongruous about the defeated monarch

if he wore a new robe but retained for equipment only an empty quiver.

Two external considerations may serve to confirm the interpretation offered. In the *Frogs* Aeschylus is made to say :

εἶτα διδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐξεθίδαξα  
(sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους)  
νικᾶν δὲ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, κοσμήσας ἔργον δριστον.

If we may not take these as the sentiments of Aeschylus, then they are very likely the sentiments of Aristophanes, who was a good judge in all that pertained to patriotism. It is not the mood of men who have wept at the tragedy of the Persians. 'Il était beau,' Patin says, 'de voir ce peuple célébrer sa gloire en pleurant sur les vaincus.' On the other hand, Blomfield appears to have been misled by the *ἐχάρην* of Dionysus, especially as it is associated with the *ἱανοῖ* of the Persian Chorus. But that jolly divinity has been indulging in a good deal of irrelevant fooling, and must not be taken as typical of the average Athenian during a tragic festival. The best commentary on the whole matter is the words of Xerxes, *λυπρὰ, χάρματα δ' ἐχθροῖς*, and the sense of *χάρματα* has, I hope, been made clear. Finally, there is the argument from our conception of Aeschylus himself. His epitaph claims our remembrance on the one ground that he had proved his manhood on the field of battle, smiting the Mede. If a doubt is thrown on the genuineness of the epitaph, we have only to remember Cynaegirus and Aminias.

The subject of the *Persae* can best be described to English minds in the words of that other song to which reference has already been made: 'Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea; his chosen captains also are drowned in the Red Sea.'

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## THE KERKIDAS PAPYRUS.

### I.

My excuse for these notes is that H(unt) left the papyrus of K(erkidas) in a wholly fragmentary state, and that since then no one has seen it. By 'wholly fragmentary' I mean that there

was no certain clue as to its length, or, more important, as to the length of individual poems. Perversely you might have judged that K. left three hymns of about four hundred lines each. The only clue lies in the small fragments,

and a long examination of them has yielded fruit in other directions, and by luck in this. H.'s speculations on p. 23 (*P. Oxy.* VIII.) are decisively disproved. He had, of course, little time to spare; and it is only *verbi causa* that I disagree with his remark, 'the remaining fragments (after 5 and 7) call for little notice.' As fragments they do not; but some are really thrilling, the most thrilling being one that reads *λει* (60).

Perhaps I had best begin by my conclusions. A very simple guess of mine, that *fr.* 23 came at the bottom of H.'s poem I., *fr.* 1, column i., led Mr. L(amacraft)—whose patient, forbearing, and wonderfully expert assistance I cannot too warmly acknowledge—to see that part of the papyrus had been folded over, a constellation of worm-holes occurring at nearly regular intervals. My second guess, founded again on pure literary conjecture, that *fr.* 60 belonged both to *fr.* 1, col. v., and to *fr.* 3, col. i., equated these columns. The circumference of the roll is small, and the first poem must have been outside. From this we get two results at once. First, part of the papyrus was rolled, and exact placing without contact is possible. Secondly, we have a whole hymn of about thirty-eight lines, or about fifty verses. Now, as we shall see, the early columns seem part of a hymn to Zeus, and if this came first, and was not out of proportion, few columns at the beginning are wholly lost.

The discussion of facts is more im-

portant than plausible spinning of hypotheses; and I shall proceed to give the rest of my conclusions on this matter in tabular form, with a new notation of columns. But first I must consider an objection. There are nine 'previously known fragments,' of which H. and W(ilamowitz) detect only two; and the short roll which I suggest appears inconsistent with probability. Against this, previously known *frs.* 1 and 7 (see my *First Greek Anthologist*, *passim*) are choliambic, and 5 may be so. So too may 6 (*μηδὲν μὲν ἐσθλὲν τῶν ἀνδρὶ προσηκόντων . . . εἰ παρῆιδον ἢ ἄκανθαν*), though it is equally well represented by a conjunction of papyrus *frs.* 30 and 25, which L. considers probable, and previously known *fr.* 4—in which, for metre's sake, we must indicate a lacuna after *ἐστακυῖαν*—may then, as well as not, coincide with the closing lines of papyrus *fr.* 3, col. iii. This leaves us only with the well-known fragment on the death of Diogenes and the one word *μαγίς* (=table), which may well have come in the fragmentary column, where I put the *φάσσα* and the *ἄκανθα*. And it must be remembered that in my scheme there are almost as many lines blank as not blank; and we should only expect to find, as we do, about half of the meliambic citations. Here, then, is the scheme. Metre A is the metre detected by M(aas); B is the metre of *fr.* 3. The fragments starred are nine fragments now in the British Museum not included in H.'s recension.

Poems (K.).	Columns (K.).	Columns (H.).	Metre.	Fragments.	'Previously known fragments.'	Approximate number of lines.	Subject.
I.	1	—	A/B	9*?	5?	120	Εἰς Δία (and perhaps τοὺς Θεούς).
	2	—	"	8, 10, 18, 20, 22, 67	—	—	
	3	<i>Fr.</i> 1 i.	"	8, 9, 23, 32	—	—	
IA.	4	<i>Fr.</i> 1 ii.	A	66	—	—	εἰς Ἑρώτα.
	5	<i>Fr.</i> 1 iii.	"	—	9	—	
	6	<i>Fr.</i> 1 iv.	"	—	—	41	
	7	<i>Fr.</i> 1 v., 3 i.	"	7, 12, 13+53	3	—	εἰς Ἑαυρόν.
III.	8	<i>Fr.</i> 3 ii.	B	—	—	66	
	9	<i>Fr.</i> 3 iii.	B	59+11+39?	4	—	
	10	<i>Fr.</i> 2 i.	B	41+8*, 40?	6?	—	εἰς τοὺς Μουσικοὺς.
IV.	11	<i>Fr.</i> 2 ii.	A	14, 37?	—	41	
	12	<i>Fr.</i> 2 iii.	A	—	—	—	
V.	13	—	A	5+6	—	45	εἰς τοὺς Στωικούς.
	14	<i>Fr.</i> 4.	A	—	—	—	

Poem I. may, however, be two poems, the metre of the first being uncertain. The exact length of the last poem is uncertain, but I see no reason to suppose that all fragments cannot come in this scheme. It may even prove possible to scrap one column by equating 9 and 10, and to reduce the length of poem III. For this unrolled portion there is no safe guide. We can now examine the columns singly.

Column 2. The verses read :

..... ]εγαροξευσειδέμεν  
..... ]νετο[μ]αδεπειλαπι  
..... ]αιρω[. . . β]λέννοτελου  
..... ]ασαλ[λα . . . ]υσωκαιδο  
..... ]νυν[. . . ]α . . . ]τωι[. .  
..... ]ρτονλαμβα[. .

(Then as H.'s *fr.* 10.)

v. II :

..... ]εσυμ[μικ]ηνα'καιτ[. . .  
..... ]μι[ευσφ]υτευση[. . . .  
..... ]μ[ονονγ]αρ μοι το[. . . .  
..... ]ατα[. . . . ]παλαιοσ[. . . .  
..... ]ινο . . . . ]τεων . ὦ[. . . .  
..... ]των αντ[. . . ναλαβου[. . . .  
..... ]Ζευσκοιραν[. . . . .  
.] ο . . . ορειν παρεστινε[ργον (continuing  
καλ[λον)

In v. 3 I read the 'drivelling—Teian — . . . , and refer to Anacreon. Possibly the mark under *ενο* is meant to show that the word runs over into the next verse. The supplements below are merely intended to indicate the size of gap. The number of letters missing at the end of each line is here and throughout uncertain. I would welcome any restoration that would help to fit in any extra fragments. In v. 12 *φυτεύς* I would suggest may be a noun. The precise placing of 20 and 22 is due to L. The top two lines suit metre B better than metre A. In my column 3 the fragments, though placed, yield for the most part little owing to their distance apart. In *fr.* 9 neither H.'s *χου συγγοί* nor my *χουσι γήρα* will scan in metre A. Here again we must suspect corruption or metre B. In *fr.* 32 (exactly placed by L.) *α]βριδια* *τριβα* [is demanded by metre—H. read *εριδια*. At a gap of one verse we get

(*fr.* 23) *εισ[ο]κ αυτων [ανερ ο]λβοθυλακον λαρων τε και ακρασιωνα* (col. iv.).

Of col. iv. I need say little. In line 3 (H., *fr.* 1, p. 29) I intend to read *εις ανονατ' α[πορ]ρέοντα*; the scholium at the top must surely be *ακρατης [και κατα]γνωστός τις και μαρός*. M. has given me a better reading of the scholium on 16, *ζφον δ τύπους μ(εν) όφθαλμ(ών) έχει, όφθαλμούς δέ ού· ούδ(ε) βλ[ε]πει*. In 17 my placing of *fr.* 66 refutes counter-suggestions to H.'s *αστεροπαγερέτας*, now certain. In cols. iv.-v. I should read *τò τάλαντον . . . μέσσον τόν Όλυμπον [ανά τò] όρθόν [ισχεικ]αί*, but print, for the sake of metre, *μέσσον τ' αν' Ό. ανίσχει*, deleting *ανά τò όρθόν*. In col. v., lines 7-8, I should explain the second *δέ* as resumptive, or, if you like, pleonastic, and explain, 'while as to Brygians (*i.e.* Macedonians), who live God knows where, as to them I fear to say how much they pull down (*κατάγει*, Eur. *Bacch.* 1065) on their side (*τò παρ' αύτοίς*) the scale of Zeus.' In col. vi., line 10, H. shows more letters missing after *ευμενέ* [than is probable. I fancy there were none after *βροτών* or this; read *και βροτών <δ'τφ> γάρ αν πραεία μέν και εύμενεδεξιτέρα* by a simple transference of the *μέν*, which appears in the papyrus with *γάρ* as a correction above it. In line 12 H. is tempted, despite grammatical scruples, to translate *ναύν ταν έρωτος*, 'the ship of love,' rather than *έν άτρεμία έρωτος*, 'in calmness of love,' forgetting that the Greeks could say (*e.g.*) *νηνεμίαν άνέμων* (Plat. *Symφ.* 197c), and that love is always an element, never a ship: Meleag. *A.P.* V. 156, *ά φιλέρως χαροποίς Άσκληπιάς οία Γαλήνης όμμασι συμπίθει πάντας έρωτοπλοείν*.

In col. vii., *frs.* 13 and 53 were placed by my suggestion. An examination of the back enabled L. to fix them about six letters from the beginning of the column, but the position vertically is not yet ascertained: immediate contact with what follows would give the strange *-στράπ[α]φια . τιπλοος*, of which I can make nothing—*άστραπαφρικτόπλοος* is quite impossible. Perhaps the fragment comes at the top of the page. Below, however, we are on surer ground. After considerable thought I decided that, like it or lump it, one must read

something like  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \tau\acute{o} \beta\iota\alpha\iota \sim \sim \sim$   
 $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron\theta[\eta]\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\nu[\epsilon\varsigma \delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota \tau\iota] \nu\acute{\alpha} \beta\lambda\alpha\psi\iota$   
 $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \mu[\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{o}] \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ . You may  
 rightly exclaim against certain weak-  
 nesses in this; but you will be wrong  
 if you exclaim against the metre of  $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$   
 $\beta\lambda$ . (Hermann, *Orph.* II., pp. 760-1) or  
 against the compounds. For Kerkidas  
 was even more daring, as you will see if  
 you insert *fr.* 12, for we get  $\beta\iota\alpha\iota[\sigma\omicron\pi\acute{o}\nu]\eta$ -  
 $\rho\omicron\nu$ ,  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota \tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ , and  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .  
 As to these words,  $\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron\theta\eta\lambda$ . is clearly  
 'mad after the (fugitive) deer,' a response  
 to the masterpiece of Callimachus (*Ep.*  
 33):  $\Omega\gamma\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma, \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\delta\epsilon\varsigma, \acute{\epsilon}\nu \omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\iota$   
 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \lambda\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\acute{o}\nu \delta\iota\phi\acute{\alpha} \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma \acute{\iota}\chi\nu\iota\alpha$   
 $\delta\omicron\rho\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma . . . \chi\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma \tau\omicron\iota\acute{o}\sigma\delta\epsilon$ .  
 $\tau\acute{\alpha} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha \delta\iota\acute{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu \omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon, \tau\acute{\alpha} \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\nu$   
 $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha \pi\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ . For  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$ -  
 $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$  we can put up a weak defence  
 with  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\eta$  and  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$ : but  
 $\beta\lambda\alpha\psi\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ ! Yet you can read every  
 letter of it, for *fr.* 60 exactly fits.  
 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$  and  $\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$  provide the  
 only excuses. The idea is better than  
 the words: 'for lust that is violent and  
 base, mad as hound after deer in the  
 chase, speeds swift o'er the profitless  
 moor, full cry after anguish in store.'  
 I have to thank Mr. Milne as well as  
 L. for much time spent in verifying  
 the place of the fragments in this  
 column.

But this placing gives us more than a  
 handful of new words for the lexica. It  
 is almost as certain as could be that  
 the wormhole in *fr.* 63 is the 'opposite  
 number' of a wormhole in *fr.* 3, cols.  
 i.-ii., and that col. ii. must be taken as  
 the next column. I owe this point to  
 L., as, though I placed the columns to-  
 gether, I did not observe this proof.  
 As *fr.* 3 is in an entirely different metre,  
 the poem (Hunt's II.) has to end in  
*fr.* 1, col. v. (H.) H. did not record  
 the beginnings of three lines, 18, 19,  
 and 20 (so they should be numbered),  
 $[\gamma\alpha/\gamma\alpha/\rho\epsilon]$ . Myschemethus runs things  
 rather fine, though there is room for a  
 coronis below the last two letters, the  
 margin being absent. Having my solu-  
 tion ready, I asked L. to fit in *fr.* 7, and,

working from the back, he placed it  
 where I hoped, so that you get:

$\delta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\mu\beta\rho\epsilon\sigma[$   
 $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu \cdot \nu\upsilon[. . . . .] \tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\rho[$   
 $\gamma\alpha[. . . . .] \epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma[$   
 $\gamma\alpha[. . . . .] \kappa\alpha\iota \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma[$   
 $\rho\epsilon[ ] \text{nil}$

And there the column ends. As at the  
 end of (Hunt's) poem I. the writer  
 stops in the middle of the column for a  
 new poem.

Stobaeus in his anthology (*Fl.* LVIII.  
 10,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ !) gives (according to  
 his MSS.) these verses as  $\acute{o} \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   
 $\chi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu\alpha \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha} \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . Following pre-  
 vious correctors, none of whom suc-  
 ceeded in restoring the exact metre, I

would read,  $\kappa\omicron\iota\delta' \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}$   
 $\langle \nu\upsilon\nu \rangle \gamma\alpha\chi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\varsigma \mu\omega\alpha\mu\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\nu \cdot \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   
 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau' \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ .  
 $\gamma\alpha\chi$ . would be land-turtle) ( $\pi\omicron\nu\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \chi$ . :  
 Crates, *fr.* 29. As to the point, the  
 poem, after rejecting a violent passion  
 after a hopeless quarry, recommends  
 the love of the market-place: oddly  
 enough, too, since Diogenes was not  
 famous for that form of quietude. We  
 now get the true climax, which means,  
 roughly, 'love, like charity, begins at  
 home.' Unpleasant details you can of  
 course find in *Diog. L.* VI. 46, *Diog.*  
*Ep.* 35, and, I fear, in many other  
 writers.

One point remains. At the end of  
 line 18 (H.)—really I fancy 17—you  
 get  $\gamma\alpha\mu\beta\rho\epsilon\sigma . . \tau' \eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ . This shows  
 that H. was wrong in emending to  
 $\gamma\alpha\mu\beta\rho\delta\varsigma \tau\acute{o}\kappa' \eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ .  $\gamma\alpha\mu\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$  can  
 be defended as well as some preceding  
 words by (a) such phrases as  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$   
 $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha\iota \tau\hat{\omega} \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ , despite the existence of  
 $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; (b) such words as  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ -  
 $\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; (c) the fact that  $-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is good  
 (Sicilian) Doric for  $-\acute{o}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ -  
 $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (*Epich. fr.* 186 Kb.) presumably  
 suggested this monstrosity, unless the  
 whole word is lifted from Epicharmus.

A. D. KNOX.

## THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF CULT-ASSOCIATIONS.

THE cult-association is primarily a family. Its head is called 'pater,' not merely by worshippers of Mithras, but also by devotees of Cybele,<sup>1</sup> the Syrian Belela,<sup>2</sup> and the Theos Hypsistos in the Bosphorus.<sup>3</sup> So a prominent benefactress of the dendrophori is given the title *μήτηρ*.<sup>4</sup> The members of these sodalities are brothers: worshippers of Juppiter Dolichenus are called 'fratres carissimi,'<sup>5</sup> and the term 'fratres' is used to designate members of societies formed to honour Juppiter Beellefarus, Mithras, and Bellona.<sup>6</sup> The Bosphoran inscriptions speak of *εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψίστον*:<sup>7</sup> this phrase is important, since adoption constituted in antiquity as close a tie as blood-relationship. Side by side with it we find as an equivalent *τὸν ἰδίον ἀδελφόν*.<sup>8</sup> Further, the body as a whole could be called a *cognatio*,<sup>9</sup> and 'pius in collegio' occurs exactly as 'pius in suos'.<sup>10</sup>

This conception was made more real by the possession of a common place of burial. This is frequently attested for Roman 'cultores,'<sup>11</sup> but is less common for Greek associations: for them we have the evidence of a quotation from Solon in the Digest<sup>12</sup> and of some inscriptions,<sup>13</sup> one of which reveals the important fact that adherents of Orphism in Cumae had a common burial-place as early as the fifth century B.C.<sup>14</sup> The parallelism with a family is very clear when the society's mausoleum is inscribed with minute regulations defining who may and who may not be buried within, just as they

appear continually on family tombs with an *ἄλλῳ δὲ μηδενὶ ἐξέστω*. A good example of such a mausoleum has been found at Adanda in Anatolia.<sup>15</sup>

The cult-association, then, is a family and feels itself such. Its great importance in history is that it provided an opportunity for the evolution of new religious ideas. The history of Gnosticism is the history of a number of small associations developing on similar but divergent lines and assimilating freely external beliefs. The spread of a diluted Judaism in the Greek cities of South Russia<sup>16</sup> and elsewhere<sup>17</sup> was largely due to similar societies.

These instances are familiar. We shall find further confirmation of their evidence if we turn to Dionysiac societies, the most numerous of all such organisations.<sup>18</sup> Here there was a freedom of development absent from the inelastic official cult of the god. A recent papyrus find gives us an edict issued by Ptolemaeus IV. Philopator for the regulation of private worship of Dionysus.<sup>19</sup> All who performed such private rites were to sail to Alexandria within a fixed period (longer for those who lived above Naucratis), and register themselves and give the history of their rites for three generations back. Further, they were to give up their *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*<sup>20</sup> under a seal. This attempt at a regulation of religious development shows that such development existed in private side by side with the public worship with its elaborate processions.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C.I.L. XIV. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Ditt.<sup>3</sup>, 111115.

<sup>3</sup> *πατὴρ συνόδου*, Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 655, *inscr.* 534.

<sup>4</sup> IG Rom. I. 604.

<sup>5</sup> Dess. 4316; cf. 4296.

<sup>6</sup> References are given by De Ruggiero, *Dis. Ep.* III. 216.

<sup>7</sup> Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 656, *inscr.* 585; cf. p. 521<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 624.

<sup>9</sup> Waltzing, *Corp. Rom.* III., n. 296.

<sup>10</sup> Waltzing, *Dis. Ep.* II., p. 367.

<sup>11</sup> Waltzing, *Corp. Rom.* IV., p. 484.

<sup>12</sup> XLVII. 22. 4.

<sup>13</sup> As Ditt.<sup>3</sup>, 11117-1120; cf. M.N. Tod., *B.S.A.* XIII. 330, Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, p. 503.

<sup>14</sup> D. Comparetti, *Ausonia*, I. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Published by Paribeni and Romanelli, *Mon. Antichi* XXIII. (1914), n. 113, p. 160.

<sup>16</sup> Schürer, *Sitz. ber. Berlin*, 1897, p. 200—, summarised by Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 621.

<sup>17</sup> Cumont, *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1906, 63—.

<sup>18</sup> Poland, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>19</sup> Schubart, *Ämtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVIII. (1916-7), p. 189—; *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*, p. 352.

<sup>20</sup> For these cf. O. Kern, *Orphica*, p. 143, and, to give a magical example, *P. Parthey* I. 64 (where for *ἱερῶν* read *ἱερὸν*; *φίλον* is corrupted to *φίλων*, l. 88).

<sup>21</sup> Such as that described by Callixenus Rhodius *ap. Athenae*. 196 A.

Fortunately a more recent papyrus publication has thrown light on the character of this private cult. A fragmentary Orphic liturgy, slightly earlier than the royal edict, has been found.<sup>1</sup> From it we learn that the movement had proceeded among Greeks in Egypt much as it had elsewhere: the fragments have various points of contact with the famous South Italian tablets, which can be paralleled from Crete,<sup>2</sup> and with the later Orphic hymns, which were almost undoubtedly the hymn-book of a small Orphic community in Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup> The development had been free but parallel.

The importance of the Ptolemaic edict is increased by the fact that its provisions agree closely with those of the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*. It is a brilliant conjecture that Aemilius Lepidus, who had been consul in the previous year and was an influential member of the college of pontifices,<sup>4</sup> had learnt of the Egyptian regulations when he was in that country as an envoy.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of the *Senatus consultum* there was clearly no law limiting the freedom of religious association.<sup>6</sup> All associations were dissolved by the *Senatus consultum* of 64 B.C., all restored by Clodius in 58. Caesar's radical action spared none which could not claim antiquity.<sup>7</sup> The question was finally settled by a *lex Iulia* of Augustus.<sup>8</sup> Of particular significance is the fact that frequency of meeting was limited: *collegia tenuiorum*, which were given a fair degree of freedom in general, might meet only once a month.<sup>9</sup> All religious societies were under strict surveillance: the authorities feared

treasonable plots carried on 'sub praetextu religionis.'<sup>10</sup>

Such bodies were often indebted to some rich member for their place of common worship: this was the case with the Artemisioi of Naples,<sup>11</sup> for instance. I should like to suggest that the now famous underground basilica, discovered in 1917 near the Porta Maggiore at Rome, was the place where met for worship a small sodality, thus provided with a chapel by a Statilius<sup>12</sup> who was a member and liberally disposed. Cumont, for all his learning and ingenuity, has really failed to make a substantial case for supposing the rites there performed to have been Neopythagorean:<sup>13</sup> a building which in its structure and in the arrangement of its floor-mosaics contradicts every principle of symmetry would have been ill-suited to such a purpose.

Rude workmanship<sup>14</sup> and the desire for concealment may have combined to produce this result. The desire for concealment is quite comprehensible in view of the jealous supervision exercised by the Imperial régime over religious guilds, and the attempt to worship thus in private would certainly have given plausibility to the charges brought against Statilius Taurus in A.D. 53, at the instigation of Agrippina, who desired his gardens. These related chiefly to *magicas superstitiones*, says Tacitus.<sup>15</sup> As the decoration of the Basilica is not later than the first century of our era,<sup>16</sup> and it stands in the gardens of the Statilii and is constructed underground, it is a plausible conjecture of Fornari's<sup>17</sup> that the building and the rites carried

<sup>10</sup> Ulpian in *Dig.* XLVII., II. 2; Kornemann, *loc. cit.*, p. 411.

<sup>11</sup> D. Mallardo, *Memorie Napoli* II. ii., p. 149, published with commentary by A. Maiuri, *Studi Romani* I., p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> The Basilica is in the gardens of the Statilii, (Fornari, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1918, p. 51). Lanciani has disputed this identification (*Bullettino Comunale*, XLVI., p. 69) on grounds which I am not fully competent to weigh. I have the high authority of Dr. Ashby in favour of accepting it.

<sup>13</sup> As he has argued, *Rev. Arch.*, VIII. (1918), pp. 52-73.

<sup>14</sup> Like that of the Ostian Mithraeum.

<sup>15</sup> *Ann.* XII. 59.

<sup>16</sup> This dating is universally accepted.

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>1</sup> *P. Gurob I.* Well discussed by M. Tiernay, *Class. Quart.*, 1922, p. 77, and reproduced, with notes, by O. Kern, *Orphica*, n. 31, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 86—; Kern, *Genethliakon Robert*, p. 89—.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), p. 22—.

<sup>6</sup> So Kornemann, *P. W.* IV., p. 405.

<sup>7</sup> *Suet. Jul.* 42. The Jews were privileged. Cf. *P. W.* IV. 408.

<sup>8</sup> For which cf. Waltzing, *Diz. Ep.* II., p. 352.

<sup>9</sup> Kornemann, *loc. cit.*, p. 410.



on within<sup>1</sup> were the substantial basis of the accusation. *Magicas superstitiones* could quite well refer to such private worship: magic in antiquity was essentially private and in some antithesis to the official worship of the community. 'Ideo magi estis quia nouum nescio quod genus religionis inducitis' are the words put in the mouth of a Roman magistrate cross-examining the Christian Achatius.<sup>2</sup> Further, Orpheus, the supposed author of the belief and ritual of so many societies, was commonly regarded as the founder of magic,<sup>3</sup> and the Orphic hymns contain elements which can fairly be called magical.<sup>4</sup>

What the purpose of the chapel was<sup>5</sup> cannot be determined with certainty till the stuccos are all satisfactorily interpreted. Meanwhile, I would urge, as Leopold<sup>6</sup> has urged, that the rites were Orphic in character. I use the word Orphic in a wide sense; by the first century of our era Orphic, Dionysiac, and Eleusinian had long been indistinguishable terms. When

Dionysus was identified with Iakchos<sup>7</sup> the decisive step was taken. Afterwards we find him enjoying worship jointly with Demeter,<sup>8</sup> and Kore had her part in the ritual of the Iobakchoi.<sup>9</sup>

With this view of the chapel's purpose the scene in the apse agrees excellently. It appears to represent in vivid antithesis the fate of the initiate and that of the uninitiated.<sup>10</sup> This sharp contrast was essential to Orphism, as we know it early from Plato;<sup>11</sup> it is reproduced in art, as on a fine Ephesian sarcophagus of the Antonine age<sup>12</sup> and on a Roman sarcophagus known to us only from the drawing in Codex Pighianus fol. 269.<sup>13</sup> Certainly Dionysiac are the repeated *oscilla*<sup>14</sup> on the walls of the Basilica and the Maenad riding on the panther, and the winged Victories<sup>15</sup> would be perfectly appropriate. The sacred trees within enclosures and the pillars associated with them, which form the lowest band of decoration, are quite consistent with the rest: they can be paralleled from a Pompeian wall-painting showing an act of worship before such a tree and column, and clearly characterised as Dionysiac by a cantharus, thyrsolonchi and the like.<sup>16</sup> Definite tree-worship in

<sup>1</sup> Or intended to be carried on, if the building was never actually used.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta disputationis S. Achatii*, p. 119, 31, Gebh.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. passages quoted by Gruppe, *Roscher*, III. 1103.

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe, *loc. cit.*, 1050. Cf. his connexion with alchemy (Kern, *Orphica*, p. 332).

<sup>5</sup> Fornari suggests an Oriental or mystic cult, comparing the urn showing Heracles' initiation found in the tomb of the Statilii (now in Museo delle Terme). He is mistaken in arguing from the cognomen *Mystes*, borne by a freedman of the Statilii (*C.I.L.* VI. 6632) and his son; it was an ordinary Greek name (cf. *Pape-Benseler*, s.v.), used by Roman freedmen (De Vit, *Onomasticon*, s.v.).

Bagnani is quite unjustified in saying that 'remains of the inaugural sacrifice show that the building was dedicated to the infernal deities' (*J.R.S.* IX., p. 82), and referring to Fornari (*loc. cit.*, p. 47) as supporting his statement. Fornari correctly explained the remains in question as pointing to a preliminary sacrifice in propitiation of chthonic powers which had to be performed before the Basilica could be used for its proper purpose. Hubaux' suggestion (*Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 59—) that the Basilica was devoted to the worship of Cotytto is unreasonable; in Roman literature she is but a literary allusion.

<sup>6</sup> *Mélanges Rome XXXIX.*, p. 165—. This brilliant article did not come into my hands till this article was substantially completed.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Kern in *P.W.*, s.v. Iakchos. They are distinguished by Artemidorus (cf. *Oneirocritica* II. 37, p. 140. 25 Hercher, and II. 38, p. 144. 25).

<sup>8</sup> *Br. Mus.* III., 595. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Ditt.* 3 1109121.

<sup>10</sup> I certainly prefer this view, which is that of Mrs. Strong, to Curtis', *A.J.A.*, 1920, p. 144, supported by J. Hubaux, *Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> *As Rep.* 363 C, *Phaedo* 69 C.

<sup>12</sup> Published by J. Keil, *Jahreshefte XVII.* (1914), p. 133—. This is possibly the meaning of the contrasted figures on the obscure Torre Nova sarcophagus, *Röm. Mitth.* 1910, p. 89—, and probably that of the groups at the mutilated end of the relief on the grave of the Rhodian schoolmaster Hieronymus, figured and discussed by Hiller von Gärtringen and Robert, *Hermes XXXVII.* (1902), p. 122— (cf. esp. p. 134).

<sup>13</sup> Discussed by O. Jahn, *Sächs. Ber.*, 1856, p. 275— (*Darstellungen der Unterwelt auf römischen Sarcophagen*, and figured *Taf.* III. D.). Here the Danaids (cf. Plato *Gorg.* 493 B., Pausanias, x. 31. 9, etc.) are contrasted with a Bacchic thiasos of the blessed, including Heracles (himself *μυρτός*, cf. Lycophron, *Alex.* 1328, and Jahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 278).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. A. Hild, *Dar. S.*, IV., p. 257—.

<sup>15</sup> Reinach, *Rép. Rel.*, III., p. 183.

<sup>16</sup> Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, n. 572; Reinach, *Rép. Peint.*, p. 117.

connexion with the cult of Dionysus is attested by Pausanias.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, it is Dionysiac symbolism that was normally used to express a belief in personal immortality. Sarcophagi were constantly decorated with masks, clusters of grapes, and Bacchants,<sup>2</sup> the infancy of the god,<sup>3</sup> and the like. In many cases these are probably no more than mere ornament, devoid of any symbolical meaning: to take an earlier Greek example, we should probably attach no importance to the Bacchic terra-cottas found in a tomb at Great Blisnizta,<sup>4</sup> or to the representation of a row of Bacchants in the same tomb.<sup>5</sup> This is what we must always expect of symbols: the ravishing of Ganymede is certainly on many sepulchral monuments a symbol of the soul's immortality,<sup>6</sup> but it is at the same time employed as a purely decorative motif.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, there is evidence to show that this Dionysiac imagery enshrined originally a belief in the soul's immortality. There is in the Museo delle Terme the sarcophagus of a pious Jew,<sup>8</sup> whose religious scruples compelled him to substitute a seven-branched candlestick<sup>9</sup> for the usual portrait in a medallion. Under it is a representation of Dionysiac *βούκοι*: its *raison d'être* seems to be that the man who had the sarcophagus constructed wished to express his faith in the future life in a manner intelligible to his contemporaries.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II. 2. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p. 267.; Macchiore, *Memorie Napoli*, I., p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> As the sarcophagi figured by Rizzo, *Memorie Napoli*, III., p. 43, Fig. 3; p. 44, Fig. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Stephani, *C.R.*, *Petersburg*, 1869, Pl. II. III.

<sup>5</sup> Stephani, *l.c.*, Pl. I., 7, 8, 9.

<sup>6</sup> As in the examples quoted by Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, p. 861.

<sup>7</sup> As in painting, cf. Reinach, *Rép. Peint.*, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> No. 373 in Paribeni's catalogue.

<sup>9</sup> For which cf. Lebas-Waddington, *Inscr. Asie Mineure*, 1854 c.; Ramsay, *C.B.* II., p. 652; Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 622; *Notizie*, 1921, p. 359.

<sup>10</sup> So Cumont has well set forth, *Rev. Arch.*, 1916, IV., p. 1. The Dionysiac associations of the next world are illustrated by such phraseology as *Orph. Hymn*, I. 3: ('Εκάτην) ψυχὰς νεκρῶν μεταβαλεῖν. On the other hand, the

Now the stuccos in the Basilica are certainly concerned to a large extent with the soul's immortality. The Victories with crowns,<sup>11</sup> the rape of Ganymede, the rape of the Leucippides,<sup>12</sup> are all appropriate. If the other stuccos when fully interpreted prove to be concerned with themes of a non-Dionysiac character,<sup>13</sup> this will not in itself invalidate the case for the view that the Basilica was intended for Dionysiac worship. By the first century of our era Orphism had incorporated in itself much that belonged properly to other cults, as those of the Cabiri and Sabazius:<sup>14</sup> this is borne out by the Orphic hymns.<sup>15</sup>

I should add that there is no sub-

apotheosis of the dead man as Dionysus (briefly discussed by Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 395: cf. Stat. *Silvae*, II. 7, 124) is, I think, different: is it not a sort of extension to private individuals of the apotheosis of living kings as *νέοι Διόνυσσοι*? In the same way the use of the eagle on sarcophagi was extended from royalty to commoners (cf. Cumont, *Ét. Syr.*, p. 85).

<sup>11</sup> Victories as a symbol of immortality continued in use on Christian sarcophagi, as Kaufmann, *Handb. chr. Arch.*, p. 259, *abb.* 119, p. 293, *abb.* 144. The crown is due to the idea of life as an *ἀγών* (see for this, *Hermes ap. Stob.* i. 49-49, p. 417, 18 W.; cf. p. 274. 17; Kroll, *de Orac. Chald.*, p. 52); so one of a series of iambic precepts inscribed on a column near a sarcophagus at Olympus, in Lycia, runs thus:

πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας διανύσας λήψῃ στέφος.  
(Lebas, 133910)

The crown naturally continued in use in Christian art (cf. Kaufmann, p. 293) and language: the soul's crown is as much at home in *Mart. S. Polycarpi*, ch. 17, p. 8, 28 Gebh., Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* V. 1, *C.I.L.* VIII. 17386, as in *Vettius Valens*, VI. 2, p. 248, 28 ed. Kroll [Lebas, 2405, is probably Christian (so Franz and Waddington, *ad loc.*)]

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Reinach, *Rép. Rel.*, III. 33, 228, 258, 379.

<sup>13</sup> Thus the figures of Attis recognised by Cumont would be doubly relevant. On the one hand, they are connected in Imperial art with the notion of immortality (cf. Cumont, *T.M.*, II., p. 437—, 526; E. Strong, *J.R.S.*, I. 17). On the other hand, the identification of Demeter with Rhea, which is as old as the fifth century B.C. (O. Kern, *P.W.* IV. 2755), led ultimately to an identification of Dionysos with Attis in speculation (Cumont, *P.W.* II. 2250), and speculation was often based on cult: some fusion is attested by *Orph. Hymn* XLII.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. M. Tiernay, *Class. Quart.*, 1922, 77, 8.

<sup>15</sup> They probably belong to this period (cf. Wünsch, *P.W.* IX. 171). Hauck's attempt (*Bresl. phil. Abh.*, 43) to date them in the late fifth century of our era is absurd.

stantial reason for regarding this basilica as a domestic chapel. Such domestic chapels other than *lararia* are not attested by our ancient evidence. Thus there is no reason to believe that the Mithraeum which Mercatorius Castrensis 'in suo constituit' at Osterbrucken<sup>1</sup> was intended for purely domestic worship, and in any case the phrase is unique among Mithraic inscriptions. Macchioro has argued<sup>2</sup> that the room in the Villa Iterm decorated with the famous Dionysiac pictures was a chapel: this is not proved, and, even if it is true, there is no reason to suppose that the chapel was anything but the chapel of a small sodality. A private cult of the Dioscuri occurred on the estate of Apollonius at Heptakomia,<sup>3</sup> but the position of Egypt was unique, and a Greek settler, alone among foreigners, may well have founded such a private cult in the exceptional circumstances in which he found himself.

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *T.M.* II., p. 154; *inscr.* 425.

<sup>2</sup> *Zagreus*, 1921, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitteis-Wilcken* I. ii., n. 94, p. 123.

There is then, I hope, a strong reason to believe that the Basilica was the chapel of a small and private religious association, probably of a Dionysiac character.<sup>4</sup>

*Postscript.*—For the appropriateness of a tree and a sacred column and cult-statue in Dionysiac imagery we may further compare the glass balsamarium of Torrita, now in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, described by L. A. Milani in his *Guide* (ed. 1923, pp. 209 f.), and figured by Lovatelli, *Memorie dei Lincei*, Sec. III., vol. xiii. (1884), pp. 591 ff. The plate faces p. 498. It represents a Bacchic initiation, and shows us an image on a column with a sacred tree beside it.

A. D. Nock.

<sup>4</sup> The above was written before Bendinelli's article (*Bulletino Comunale*, XLIX. 1922, p. 85—) came into my hands. Bendinelli maintains that the basilica was intended to be a mausoleum, which would be not inconsistent with the performance of sacrifices there (p. 121). He has urged this with skill and learning, but I cling to the view expressed above. I should wish, in closing, to express my thanks to Mrs. Strong for the help she kindly gave me when I was studying the basilica.

## AESCHYLEA.

### 1. *Septem*, ll. 472 ff. (= 459 ff., Tucker).

The passage is a complete speech by Eteocles:

πέμποιμ' ἂν ἤδη τύνδε, σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῃ  
καὶ δὴ πέπεμπται [οὐ] κόμπον ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων,  
Μεγαρεύς, Κρέοντος σπέρμα τοῦ σπαρτῶν γένους,  
475 δὲ οὐτὶ μάργον ἱππικῶν φρουραγμάτων  
βρόμον φοβηθεὶς ἐκ πυλῶν χωρήσεται,  
ἀλλ' ἢ θανὼν τροφέϊα πληρώσει χθονί,  
ἢ καὶ δὴ ἄνδρε καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος  
ἐλὼν λαφύροις δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός.  
480 κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλω, μηδὲ μοι φθόνει λέγων.

Eteocles, the champion with whom Megareus is matched, bore on his shield the device of a hoplite climbing a scaling-ladder set against an enemy's tower: from the hoplite's mouth ran a written boast that 'not even Ares should cast him from the battlements.'

Ll. 465 ff.:

ἐσχημάτισται δ' ἀσπίς οὐ σμικρὸν τρόπον·  
ἀνὴρ δ' ὀπλίτης κλίμακος προσαμύσσει  
στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον ἐκπέρσαι θέλων·  
βοᾷ δὲ χούτος γραμμάτων ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς,  
ὡς οὐδ' ἂν Ἄρης σφ' ἐβάλαι πυργωμάτων.

Line 480 has jarred on many critics. The variants ἐπ' ἄλλον for ἐπ' ἄλλω

and λίαν for λέγων are found in MSS., and Valckenaer's λόγων is widely accepted (for instance, by Sidgwick and Wilamowitz). Blomfield suggested ἔτ' ἄλλον, Verrall ἔτ' ἄλλω.

There has, however, been (I think) little difference in opinion about the general sense of the line. Everyone supposes that Eteocles is telling the κατὰσκοπος to pass on to the next champion: 'Boast on with another, and stint me not your story' (Tucker): 'Dis-nous la jactance d'un autre et ne nous sois point avare de rapports' (Mazon). In this interpretation critics have doubtless been influenced by the close of Eteocles' preceding speech (l. 451):

λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα.

But that is the only one of six similar speeches that ends with such a remark. Indeed, nowhere else in the play does Eteocles deign directly to address the κατὰσκοπος: and that line has a stern military aloofness quite unlike the familiarity of μηδὲ μοι φθόνει λέγων.

Moreover, the received translation is strained and awkward: in Verrall's words, 'κομπάζειν ἐπὶ τινι would naturally mean "to boast or triumph over another," not "to describe him in high or boastful terms," which is the sense required.'

I believe that κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλῳ does here bear its natural sense, and that the text is sound, but wrongly punctuated. I suggest that ll. 465 ff. should be printed thus:

ἦ καὶ δὴ ἄνδρε καὶ πόλις ἐπ' ἀσπίδος  
ἐλὼν λαφύροις δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός  
'Κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, μὴδ' ἐμοὶ φθόνοι' λέγων.

The third line completes the jest of the first—the jest of treating the boastful mannikin blazoned on Eteoclus' shield as a real person. Megareus, the 'practical boaster,' κόμπου ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων, will hang the shield in his father's house, saying to the mannikin: 'Hang there and boast on! But you must boast over earlier antagonists, and you must let me boast over you!'

2. *Persae*, ll. 144 ff.:

πῶς δ' αὖ πράσσει Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς  
Δαρείου γένος ἄμμετρον· πότερον τόξου  
ρῦμα τὸ νικῶν, ἢ δορικράνου  
λόγχης ἰσχυρὸς κεκράτηκεν;

Mazon translates: 'Xerxès, fils de Darios, le roi de notre sang qui nous a fourni le nom de ses aïeux,' and adds the note, 'La nation perse doit son nom à Persée l'aïeul du Perséide Xerxès.' Wilamowitz's critical note is a sufficient

comment on such explanations: 'Explicatio Σ κατὰ πατέρα συγγενῆς ἡμῶν toleraretur, si Dareus Persarum gentis auctor esset. itaque corruptela subest.' Wilamowitz also notes the impropriety of the form ἄμμετρον: 'ἡμέτερον vulgo editur anapaestorum usui convenienter; ἦ suprascripsit Tr.' He obelises γένος ἄμμετρον.

I suggest that the reading of our MSS. is due to the mistaken incorporation in the text of a reasonable, though technically not quite accurate, scholium. I would assume that, by the intrusion of a gloss, the true reading Δαρείου γένος was first corrupted to Δαρείου γένος: we may compare l. 6 *supra*, where all MSS. read, after Δαρείου γένος, the superfluous words Δαρείου υἱός or υἱὸς Δαρείου. An intelligent critic wrote in the margin: γρ. Δαρείου γένος· τὸ πατρωνυμικόν· γένος ἄμμετρον. 'Read Δαρείου γένος: the patronymic: γένος does not scan.' A copyist took γρ. to refer to the whole note, which he embodied, with the minimum of alteration, in the text: producing a phrase which most critics have accepted as Aeschylus' composition. The Byzantine alteration of ἄμμετρον to ἡμέτερον would have obliterated the last trace of its true source.

The word πατρωνύμιος has no authority, while πατρωνυμικόν is a technical term, though not, in strict terminology, exactly applicable to Δαρείου γένος.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

TACITUS, *ANNALS*, XVI. 21.

... eaque offensio altius penetrabat, quia idem Thræsea Patavi, unde ortus erat, ludis tæstastis a Troiano Antenore institutis habitu tragico cecinerat.

FOR tæstastis the Edd. have suggested either cetariis or caestatis. Two documents have been taken as evidence for the existence of games at Patavium called Cetarii or Cetaria; but the form of the word recorded by Charisius, p. 125 f., Keil, from Pliny's citation of a letter of Pomponius Secundus to Thræsea, throws no light on the context in which it was used; and the cetae I., II., III. of C.I.L. V. 2787 (Dessau 5202) would seem to refer to three grades of exhibitions of sea

animals, or some spectacles having to do with these creatures: together with the epidixib. which precedes it, I should regard the term as generic, not specific. In any case, 'fishermen's games' would hardly have been celebrated at so long an interval as thirty years, which we learn from Dio Cassius, LXII. 26, to have been the period of the festival at which Thræsea appeared.

Professor Thallon, in *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.* XXVIII. (1924), p. 51 f., shows that ludi caestati, 'games of the cestus,' would have accorded with the local tradition at Patavium. The word caestatus does indeed occur once, in connexion with musical and dramatic

spectacles, in the fragmentary inscription from Labicum, *C.I.L.* XIV. 2771 (Bücheler, *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 236); the Edd. of the *Thes. L.L.* are probably right in taking it there as denoting an actor's headdress, not a boxer's thongs; and this might have been its signification at Patavium.

I propose, however, to read *iselasticis*, on the ground of both palaeographical probability and the sense thus imparted to the passage. *Ludi iselastici*, ἀγῶνες εἰσελαστικοί (as to which institution, see Jüthner in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Εἰσελαστικός ἀγών), are probably not mentioned by that name before the principate of Trajan; but the custom appears in the first section of the Preface to Book IX. of Vitruvius, and it is described by Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* II. v. 2, in the following terms: τὸ τοῖς νικηφόροις εἰσελαύνουσι τῶν τευχῶν ἐφίεσθαι μέρος διελεῖν καὶ καταβαλεῖν. In attributing the establishment of such games to the Trojan Antenor, the Patavini might have been influenced by the tale of the Wooden Horse.

In our passage, Tacitus is dealing

with events of the year 66 A.D. It was only after Nero's successful appearances in Greece, a year or two later, that the imperial artist could celebrate his triumphal return to Italy by entering her cities through breaches in their walls; the account in Suetonius, *Nero*, XXV. 1, does not make it clear whether he had breaches made in the walls of Antium, Rome, and the imperial villa in the Alban territory, as well as Naples, but for our purpose this point is not essential. The idea of such a triumphal entry had doubtless been germinating in Nero's brain for a considerable time before he put it into effect; and his jealousy was naturally aroused when he learnt that Thræsea had appeared in tragedy, or had given a tragic recital, at Patavium on the occasion of an exceptional festival, the reward for success in which, at least in theory, included triumphal entrance to the successful competitor's own city through a breach in the walls: this represented a height of ambition to which no one at Court might safely aspire.

A. W. VAN BUREN.

#### MARTIAL IV. 64

(*C.R.* XXXVIII., p. 64).

PROFESSOR ROSE seems to be unaware that the interpretation which he offers of Martial *epigr.* IV. 64, 16 was advanced many years ago by Heinrich Schenkl; see *Mitteil. des k. deutschen Archäol. Inst., Röm. Abt.* XXXI., p. 211 ff.

It seems highly improbable that a ceremony of the unpleasant character which Professor Rose and Schenkl postulate could have taken place in such a public locality as the Campus Martius. It is at least remarkable that there is no more explicit reference to it in Latin literature. One would think that some of the Christian apologists like Tertullian and Arnobius could hardly have failed to make capital out of it. Schenkl's interpretation has, and no doubt will have, adherents. It fits in with Fehrle's theories and he blesses it; see *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, p. 56. But sober authorities like Dr. Wissowa (*Religion und Kultus*, p. 241, n. 10) and the late Dr. Warde Fowler are more cautious. All the passages which Professor Rose, following Gesner, quotes show that Columella's prophylactic was purely magical, and non-Italian at that. Professor Rose recognises the latter fact. It invalidates seriously his speculations regarding the action of the authorities in charge of the grove. Who were these authorities? And is not the evi-

dence for a *lucus* Annae Perennae far from certain?

The whole tenor of Martial's poem is decidedly opposed to the proposed interpretation as well as that which stands second in Professor Rose's list. Martial is describing the peaceful landscape which lies before his eyes as he looks citywards. To interrupt his enumeration of the cool spots which lie immediately outside the city by a reference to an event of the character postulated by Schenkl spoils the passage and results in bathos. I confess that Assmann seems to me to be on the right track. Martial had, one might say, a personal interest in the Aqua Virgo. He mentions it many times. His first lodging looked out on the laurels of Agrippa and close by was the arch which carried the water over the Via Lata (l. 108, IV. 18). When he stood on the northern slope of the Janiculum this aqueduct must have caught his eye at once. It started from the Pincio and extended to the Saepta (Frontinus l. 22). But there are difficulties, as Hülsen showed, if we regard Martial as referring to the Stagnum and Euripus. The scene of the feast of the Ides of March was apparently close to the Piazza del Popolo, for the Vatican Kalendar locates it at the first milestone on the Via Flaminia. Yet it is not impossible that when Martial speaks of the 'nemus Annae Perennae' he means the tree-clad slopes of the

Pincio just above this road. In the neighbourhood were the first arches and the *piscina* of the Virgo. Assmann's *liquore* is certainly not very attractive from a palaeographical point of view; *rigore* (= *criore*) would, perhaps, account better for the corruption. The water of the Virgo was peculiarly cold; see Martial VI. 42, VII. 32, 11, XI. 47, 6, and compare Seneca, *ep.* 83, 5.

Whatever solution of the crux is adopted, I hope that it will be one which will not lessen the charm of Martial's poem. E. H. ALTON.

#### POSTSCRIPT TO C.R. XXXVIII., p. 64.

EITREM, *Opferritus*, p. 446, sees that Martial's reference to Anna Perenna is to be connected with the charm in Columella, etc., against insects, but appears to think it was considered to be a kind of sacrifice: 'Wie leicht antikem Gedanke der Übergang zum Opfer ist, zeigt Martial,' etc. H. J. ROSE.

#### VITRUVIUS VII., pref. 12.

postea Silenus de symmetriis doricorum edidit volumen †de aede iononis quae est samii doricæ zeodorus.† H.

THIS passage presents a well-known difficulty. The temple of Hera at Samos was Ionic, as appears from extant remains. H warns us that something is wrong by the correction *æ* which turns *iononis* into *iunonis*, by *dorica* which is absurd, and by *zeodorus* for *theodorus*, which latter is quite correctly spelt three lines below. But on further consideration these errors are found to conceal behind a very thin veil the probable reading. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXV. 152—'sunt qui in Samo primos omnium plasticen invenisse Rhoecum et Theodorum tradant'—couples the two names as makers of pottery figures; Pausanias, VIII. 14, 8, as bronze founders. They were like some of the Italian architects of the Renaissance, who were masters in the various plastic arts—Peruzzi for example. Read therefore: 'de aede ionica Iunonis quae est Sami Rhoecus et Theodorus.'

F. GRANGER.

#### GRATTIANA.

GRATTIVS exponit canes Britannicos parum quidem decoros, sed in uenando paene inuictos esse; describo hos tantum uersus:

179 at magnum cum uenit opus promendaque uirtus

et uocat extremo praeceps discrimine Mauors:

non tunc egregios tantum admirere Mol-  
< ossos >.

comparat his uersuta suas Athamania . . .  
Azorusque Pheraeque et clandestinus Acar-  
< nan > . . .

Vltimae syllabae uersuum 181-183 perierunt, sine ullo autem negotio us. 181 et 183 restituti sunt, dubitatur de 182. Editio Aldina recepit *suas Athamania fraudes*, quod nimis quaesitum uidetur, at Vollmer Enkio probante proposuit

*gentes*. Equidem suppleo *proles*, quod uerbum re uera poeticum est (cf. Cic. *de orat.* III. 153 et Quintil. *inst.* VIII. 3, 26), praeterea in toto carmine uates de canibus loquitur tanquam de hominibus. Singularem huius substantiui numerum adhibet us. 253, uerum plurali utuntur Columella X. 163 (de herbis) et Arnobius IV. 28 *quis est enim qui credat . . . deum . . . ex se proditis aliquando interceptisse proles* et VII. 35 *quas* (sc. *animantes*) *generare auctor uoluit rerum substituendis per libidinem prolibus*.<sup>1</sup>

Venatorem capellas leporesue captantem poeta sic monere incipit:

199 at te leue si qua  
tangit opus pavidosque iuuat compellere  
dorcas  
aut uersuta sequi leporis uestigia parui,  
Petroniost haec fama cani, uolucresque  
Sycambros  
et pictam macula uertraham delige *falsa*.

Pro corrupta uoce *falsa* Johnson substituit *flaua* uel *fulua*. Propius ad traditam scripturam accedit *fusca*. Quis non uidit uertragos albos maculis atrioribus sparsos?

Lepide Grattius indicat qui catulus aliquando ualidus canis uenaticus futurus sit:

293 adfectat materna regna sub aluo,  
ubera tota tenet, a tergo liber aperto,  
dum tepida indulget terris clementia  
mundi;  
uerum ubi Caurino perstrinxit frigore  
uesper,  
*ire placet* turbaque potens operitur inerti.

Initium uersus 297 corruptum est, cum duae fere litterae omissae esse uideantur. Quodsi attendimus uerbum *perstrinxit* (us. 296) obiectionem desiderare, monemur ut *ire* mutemus in *rura*, qua lectione admissa pro *placet* rescribendum erit *latet* ut lucremur hanc sententiam: catulus ille, qui lactens ceteros paruos canes sibi cedere cogit interdumque aestate libere se mouet, nocte gelida calorem quaerens penitus delitescit sub fratribus. Itaque uitata distinctione (post 296) sublata edendum censeo:

uerum ubi Caurino perstrinxit frigore uesper  
*rura, latet* turbaque potens operitur inerti.

De curanda scabie cum alia praecipit poeta tum haec:

415 tunc et odorato medicata bitumina uino  
Hipponiasque pices neclectaeque unguen  
amurcae  
miscuit et summam conplectitur ignis in  
unam.

inde lauant aegros: *ast* ira coercita morbi  
laxatusque rigor. quae te ne cura timentem  
420 differat.

Pro *ast* sententia flagitat *quoad*: medicina nimirum usque eo adhibenda est, donec aegroti canes sani facti sunt. Verisimile est pro *quoad* librarium deceptum pronomine *quae*, quod in uersu sequenti eodem fere loco positum est, exarasse *ast*.

Grattius etiam de robore ('stiff cramp') agit, uide us. 464:

quae robore pestis  
acrior aut leto propior uia?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre*, I., p. 658.

In curando robore nonnunquam sanguinem mitti necesse esse docent hi uersus :

469 in subito subita et medicina tumultu.  
stringendae nares et . . . na ligamina ferro  
armorum, geminaque cruor ducendus ab  
aure.

*Ligamina armorum* nihil aliud significare nisi umeri commissuram cum brachio perspicue ostendit Enkius, qui idem Hauptii coniecturam bina commendauit. Equidem puto compendium scripturae p (=pro) praetermissum esse. Quocirca quin scribendo *prona ligamina* . . . armorum manum poetae restituamus uix dubito, nam peritus auctor dicere uult : non in summo umero sanguinem esse mittendum, sed paulo infra ubi lacerti plerumque curuati sunt. Adiectiuum *pronus* satis certe placuit Grattio, cf. us. 109 *proni* . . . uulneris (=apri uulnerati); us. 178 *promis* . . . catulis . . . Britannis.

C. BRAKMAN.

*Hagae Comitiss.*

#### AESCHYLUS, *EUMENIDES* 945.

γόνος | πλουτό-χθων έρμαίαν | δαυμένων  
δόδων τίοι.

THE words πλουτό-χθων έρμαίαν allude to the three divinities whose images stood in the sanctuary of the Semnai. Paus. I. 28, 6: κείται δέ και Πλούτων και Έρμης και Γης άγαλμα. The compressed allusion may be compared to ll. 334-5, where Mrs. Wedd (C.R. XXI. 15) saw a reference to the names of Lachesis, Atropos, and Clotho in the words λάχος διανταλα (=άτροπος) μοίρ' επέκλωσεν. Πλουτόχθων appears to have been coined for the purpose.

F. M. CORNFORD.

#### THE TEARS OF NANNAKOS

(Herodas III. 10).

TO the evidence collected in the Headlam-Knox edition should now be added that of an inscription of Lycaonia mentioning a peasant of *Nonokokómē*. This inscription definitely proves that the form of the name in the old Iconian legend was Nannakos, not Annakos, and shows that the legendary Anatolian king was not a 'hypostasis' of the Semitic Enoch. *Nonokokómē* belongs to a well-known class of Anatolian village names—e.g., Dioskome, Menocome, Asiokome, Attiukome, Atyokhorion, etc.,

applied to villages on temple estates; and it shows that Nonokos was a 'faded' god, or a deified hero worshipped in a local shrine owning land. Nonokos for Nannakos exemplifies a common Anatolian vocalisation—cf. Nanna: Nonna; Anna: Onnes; Tatta: Tottes; Mamia: Momia, etc. (Kretschmer, *Einkl.* p. 335 ff.). A full discussion of the inscription, and of its bearing on the Anatolian legend of the Flood, will be found in a paper on 'Nannakos and Enoch' in the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, No. XI. (1924). Professor Rose suggests to me that in the oldest version of the legend the deluge may have been caused by the 'tears of Nannakos.'

W. M. CALDER.

#### NOTES ON TRYPHIODORUS AND OTHERS.

TRYPHIODORUS 90-92 :

Κληιστήν δ' ἐνέθηκε θύρην καὶ κλίμακα τυκτῆν,  
ἣ μὲν ὅπως ἀίδητος ἐπὶ πλευνῆς ἀραρυία  
ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα φέρεται λόχον κλυτόπλων Ἀχαιῶν,  
ἣ δ' ἵνα λυομένη τε καὶ ἐμπεδον εἰς ἐν ἰούσα  
εἴη σφιν καθόπερθεν ὁδὸς καὶ νέρθεν ὁροῦσαι.

ἐνθ' ἐρέφῃσι, 'cover in,' makes better sense.

16. 371-2 :

ἦ τε θεῶ πληγείσα παρῆτορον ὄμμα τιταίνει  
γυμνὸν ἐπισσειούσα κάρη κυανάμπυκι κισσῷ.

Cassandra is the subject. Should we read *ἐπισκιδούσα*? *εκ* may have been misread *cc*.

XENOPHON OF EPHESUS (205. 14, Didot. Bk. III., ch. 8).

ἐσφάλην ἄρα (πάντα καινὰ) καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς θανάτου.

Antheia is speaking. Read *παντάλαινα*.

STOBAEUS, *Flor.* Pythagoras (15. 7) :

Μὴ δαπανᾷν παρὰ καιρὸν ἀπειροκάλως ἐν τῇ ὡν  
μήδ' ἀνελεύθερος ἴσθι· μέτρον δ' ἐπὶ πάνιν ἀριστον.

Read *ελετήμων* : 'be not too tender.'

T. W. LUMB.

<sup>1</sup> [So in a legend from the State of Washington (see Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the O.T.*, I., p. 325) a flood is caused by the tears of a beaver. Less closely parallel, but geographically nearer, is Astyages' dream in Herodotos I. 107. H. J. R.].

## REVIEWS

### ROMAN POETRY.

*Roman Poetry.* By E. E. SIKES, M.A.,  
Fellow and Tutor of St. John's Col-  
lege, Cambridge. 8vo. Pp. vi+280.

London: Methuen and Co. 8s.6d. net.  
THE task of scholarship is perpetual re-  
interpretation. The classics remain ;  
what they mean to us varies ; from age

to age, from individual to individual ;  
and even from time to time in the same  
person according to the shifting of his  
own parallax. Of poetry this is more  
particularly true. The essence of  
poetry is, in Shelley's famous words, to  
make familiar objects be as if they were

not familiar ; and the task, or privilege, of the trained scholar includes an analogous function towards poetry itself, that poetry which otherwise, staled by familiarity, would cease to exercise its virtue.

This reinterpretation or revitalisation of classical poetry, both Greek and Roman, has been in recent years more and more sought after. Mr. Sikes' volume is a valuable contribution to the enterprise. One may accept on the whole (perhaps with some little qualification) his view that 'the present generation has to make an effort unknown to its predecessors to obtain satisfaction from Roman poetry.' The eighteenth century, he goes on to say—and he might have added, part of the nineteenth also—found no such difficulty in adjustment, because it was educated in a Roman tradition and regarded Latin literature as its own inheritance. To reinstate the Roman tradition, only in a larger way, to recover and amplify the inheritance with which some measure of touch has been undoubtedly lost, is one of the most important objects to which we can address ourselves. 'The human race is continuous; so that, if poetry is to maintain its place as one of the permanent records of human emotion, instead of being a fugitive and journalistic expression of the passing hour, the poet must be in the succession.' 'Criticism has now learnt the organic view of poetry, which is a living thing, endowed with the power of absorbing the past and recreating it with the new vitality of its own organism.'

In order to appreciate Roman poetry, in order to enter into this part of our Latin inheritance, we must understand what poetry, both as a function of the human spirit ('the ether doing something,' which is one of the modern definitions of matter) and as an art with its technical rules and its yet more binding traditions, meant to the Latin mind. This is in effect the subject of Mr. Sikes' volume. The apology he makes in his preface for being 'sometimes a little obvious' is graceful, but needless: it is the obvious that has oftenest and most clearly to be pointed out.

His book is not a history of Latin poetry. It is an elucidation of three things all essential to its study and appreciation: (1) the theory of poetry on which the Roman poets, whether consciously or unconsciously, whether by instinct or by training, worked; (2) their attitude as influenced or determined by this body of theory to 'truth' in the double sense of the word, to nature on the one hand, to philosophy on the other; (3) their doctrine and practice as regards language, style, and ornament, that is to say, as regards the armament or apparatus in and through which the poetical impulse embodied itself in the concrete forms of actual poetry.

On all three subjects, Mr. Sikes is throughout no less interesting than illuminating. It may be thought that upon them there is little new to say. That is a fallacy. What is important is the freshness of approach. Scholars, when they have turned from the purely 'grammatical' or technical side of their profession, have too often contented themselves, in their further task of bringing their studies into touch with life, with repeating the commonplaces of criticism. From this volume even accomplished scholars may learn much, may derive real profit. And a claim which the author himself does not make may be made for him, that his study of Latin poetry does not lend itself to the pernicious abuse of a substitute; that it does not interpose an opaque medium between the student and the subject, or tempt its readers to be content with reading what somebody says about poetry instead of reading the poets themselves.

A summary or analysis can hardly be given of a closely-wrought volume every page in which deserves and repays careful reading. Some particular points may be singled out, without the implication that they are of special importance.

1. The view that Roman critics from Cicero onwards tended to regard poetry as a species of rhetoric is perhaps a little over-emphasised. It is due to the fact that so much of Roman criticism is purely technical, the work of grammarians rather than of men of letters.



But against the *finitimus oratori poeta* and the *proxima cognatio cum oratoribus* of Cicero, we must set the no less important *magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus* of Quintilian, and the fact that it is not oratory but history—history, that is, treated as a fine art—which he singles out as akin to poetry. And Quintilian's dictum that poetry *solum petit voluptatem*, besides being a corrective to the idea (popular then as now) that poetry is to be judged by its 'utility,' its direct intellectual or ethical content, is also a claim that its aim is higher, that its function is to reveal or interpret beauty. In discriminating between the Greek and the Roman view of poetry, Mr. Sikes observes that 'a nation of artists was not likely to undervalue the counter-claims of art.' But the Greeks were not, and there never has been, a nation of artists.

2. 'The full flower of classicism is to be found in Horace.' This is both a true and a courageous thing to say. 'His appeal to the moderns has waned,' Mr. Sikes goes on; 'his sentiments are reckoned as commonplace, his attitude to life as hedonism, his personal expression too objective for a lyric poet.' These criticisms, he rightly points out, are for the most part either untrue or irrelevant; they are based on a misconception of poetry and of Horace: and 'the complaint that Shakespeare wrote little except hackneyed quotations is not helpful to criticism.'

3. The discussion in Chapter III., of the regular and unconcealed practice by Roman poets of 'borrowing from' or 'imitating' both the Greek poets and their own predecessors or coevals, is excellent. It was the ancient lack of historical perspective (for the historical method is one of the few creations of the modern world) which diverted criticism from the essence to the superficial form. So likewise it is the abuse of the historical method which in turn diverts it from the organic life of poetry to analysis of its mechanical constituents. 'For Lucretius to imitate Ennius, for Virgil to imitate both, was not merely the sincerest flattery; it was a claim to be in the succession.' What we do find in Latin poetry at its culmination is 'conscious and deliberate archaism

replaced by delicate suggestion and subtle reminiscence.'

4. 'It was when the Roman commentators came to details that the real mischief began.' That has not ceased to be true now. An instance of it comes a few pages later: it is one of the few passages in the book with which disagreement may be expressed.

'Virgil's early work, at any rate, was not entirely free from the literary vice of Alexandria. He could write

*cessere magistri  
Phillyrides Chiron Amythaoniusque  
Machaon.*

This has no doubt a fine ring, recalling the organ-voice of Miltonic names; but compared with the simplicity of Lucretius—if we may here venture on a "parallel passage"—

*mussabat tacito medicina dolore*

the erudition (as modern editors have seen) strikes us as frigid and pedantic.'

That both the Lucretius and the Virgil should be misquoted here is a strange lapse. 'Always verify your references' is a maxim which no one can afford to neglect, and least of all where it seems most superfluous. Observance of this hard but necessary rule would have kept Mr. Sikes from misquoting two of the best-known lines in Virgil and Tennyson (*Ecl.* I. 82 on p. 113 and the last line of the *Come down, O Maid* idyl in *The Princess* on p. 263), though it is not a thing where those who have made similar lapses themselves will be inclined to be hard on him. But the point of substance to be urged is more important: it is, that the alleged simplicity of Lucretius is no more simple than the wonderful romantic touch of Virgil: if one is pedantic, so is the other. Both are in fact, in their different ways, a triumphant success poetically.

5. There is an excellent passage in Chapter VI. on the effort of the *graecissantes* being not to sweeten the language so much as to test its capacity of assimilation without ceasing to be Latin. The same sort of effort has been made at each nodal point in English poetry.

6. The discussion of the use of con-

sonantal assonance in poetry, pp. 255-271, assigns to this what may be thought undue importance. It is easy to drive this search up a blind alley. There are after all a very limited number of consonants to play with; and the 'significance of *m*' has to be discounted by considering what a common letter *m* is.

7. The reasons for the decay of Latin poetry, like those for the decay of the Roman Empire, have been sought in many quarters. Mr. Sikes pronounces in favour of the explanation offered by Velleius Paterculus, that it was impossible to surpass or equal the models of the past, and that accordingly *studium cum spe senescit*. This is doubtful. Velleius wrote, it must be remembered, in the reign of Tiberius. It was a slack

time in Roman letters, after the brilliance of the Augustans; but surely it was not until much later that hope for their future was given up. His further remark, that restless pursuit of novelty, *frequens ac mobilis transitus*, is a hindrance to production of first-rate work, though Mr. Sikes regards it as at least disputable, is perhaps more to the point. In any case the ghost of that competent official and mediocre man of letters would surely be pleased to know that he was credited, by a literary critic of nineteen centuries after him, with 'masterly insight.'

The volume ought to be largely read; for no one can read it without profit as well as pleasure.

J. W. MACKAIL.

### THE LEGACY OF ROME.

*The Legacy of Rome.* Essays by C. FOLIGNO, ERNEST BARKER, etc. One vol. Octavo. Pp. xii + 512; 32 plates and 36 figures in text. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923. 8s. 6d.

THIS is an admirable book; better than its colleague on Greece. Doubtless, in one sense, it was easier to write. The book on Greece had necessarily to deal principally with her achievements, and, except in the realm of the physical sciences, there is a lack of freshness in the subject. That on Rome is concerned more with the transmission of the legacy, and is therefore largely concerned with the end of the Western Empire and the Dark Ages, and to some extent (it might well have been more) with the Renaissance; this, for a book of this kind, is almost new ground. There is a freshness and vigour in almost every chapter, suggesting that the writers had each something to say and wanted to say it, and had not merely been asked to write an essay of thirty pages on a well-worn theme; these qualities find their way even into the unpromising subject of Family and Social Life, though Mr. Last, like other writers, lays too much stress on the decay of morals at Rome, and allows himself such statements as that home-life was hardly known in the East and was of no importance in Greece. The

two most interesting chapters are perhaps those by Professor Foligno on the Transmission of the Legacy—a very lucid account—and by Professor de Zulueta on Law; and Dr. Singer gives a very interesting and full account of Roman Science. This last, however, suggests a criticism. Dr. Singer states, of course, that through all the centuries of the Empire the Romans added little or nothing to the method of science, or even to the number of scientific observations. He mentions, for example, the dependence of Avienus on Aratus, though an interval of six centuries separates them, and that of Pliny on Eratosthenes. But it requires more emphasis. It is after all a remarkable phenomenon, one of the most remarkable in the history of civilisation, and to it is doubtless due much of the unscientific character of the subsequent centuries. At the same time it was a pity to give no account of such work as was done by contemporary Greeks—Strabo, Dioscorides, Galen, Diophantus (the work of Ptolemy only is described)—for the Roman Empire included Greece.

It used to be a common error that the Romans were as weak in art as in science. Mr. Rushforth has written an excellent chapter on Roman art, but in one point he implies that they achieved more than they did; in his anxiety to

show that there is such a thing as Roman art, he overlooks a significant failure. 'The Imperial position and destinies of Rome,' he says, 'provided a theme or a background of unparalleled grandeur; and before the first century was out a Roman Imperial art had come into existence.' True enough; but what is significant is that there is no art which truly embodied the idea of the Empire as did Virgil and Livy in literature. The Arch of Trajan or the relief of the Eagle cannot be placed beside the *Aeneid*, as one would place the Parthenon beside the *Antigone*. Why this is so we do not know; perhaps, after all, the majority of the artists were Greeks outside the true Roman tradition.

Another point. There would have been a gain in clearness if, somewhere, there had been an explanation of the difference between the transmission of the Roman legacy and the Greek. For the difference lies not only in the fact that part of the Roman legacy has reached us 'by a natural process, handed down from people to people and from one generation to another, through traditions that could not be rooted out, through legends, customs, intellectual outlooks, rough elaborations of artistic conceptions,' as Professor Foligno puts it. There is a difference also in the way the modern world has been influenced by the Greek legacy and by that part of the Roman which, 'perhaps richer in itself, was gradually recovered by the ceaseless efforts, the toil and the study, excavations and investigations of scholars during the last centuries of the Middle Ages and the Modern epoch.' No Greek work, with the possible exception of Aristotle, influenced writers and artists of the Renaissance in the

same way as did, for example, Plautus, Terence, and Seneca on the one hand, and Vitruvius on the other. More might have been said of the latter's influence by Professor Giovannoni, of the dramatists by Dr. Mackail; more detail given. Dr. Mackail emphasises indeed the influence of the Roman writers, but by general statement only, which is not so useful to the public. Contrast the chapter on language by the late Dr. Bradley, where much illuminating detail is given. In fact, Dr. Mackail is more concerned with the actual achievements of Roman literature, and exaggerates in consequence. It is exaggeration, for instance, to say of Lucretius' poem that 'it is the work of an intellect and imagination of the first order, of a scientific insight and an ethical elevation unequalled in the ancient world, and hardly reached afterwards by any single writer'; and of Cicero that 'his mastery of language and his sense of literary form gave them [Greek philosophical works] a wholly new vitality,' though it is true that 'his genius brought Greek thought within the compass of the Western mind.' It would be surprising too to read that the rediscovery of Menander 'has emphasised our appreciation of Plautus and Terence as dramatists of high genius,' if we were not by this time used to such judgments on Menander.

But all such are small blemishes in an excellent work which should, and perhaps will, reach a very wide public. It is, however, a pity that, in such a work, Mr. Asquith should have permitted himself to say that in Greek States, 'even in the *ἑσχατος δῆμος* of Athens' a 'small aristocratic minority . . . was in exclusive possession both of freedom and of power.'

A. W. GOMME.

### THE HOPE VASES.

*The Hope Vases* (A Catalogue and a discussion of the Hope Collection of Greek Vases, with an Introduction on the History of the Collection and on Late Attic and S. Italian Vases). By E. M. W. TILLYARD. Demy 4to. One vol. Pp. x + 180. With 43 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1923. £4 4s.

OF a certain class of South Italian wares Mr. Tillyard writes that they 'have a strong claim to being judged, among not a few competitors, as the ugliest of all South Italian vase-groups.' At the sale of the Hope Collection in 1917 the present writer, engaged in looking at some of this class and trying mentally to appraise their curious

supremacy in ugliness, was assured by an enthusiastic stranger that the severe archaic stuff was all very well, but that these South Italian vases were *the* Greek vases *par excellence*. It is well that Sir William Hamilton, who formed the collection, had a taste catholic enough to embrace both extremes: for without the one we should have been poor indeed; and without the other we should probably have missed the most valuable part of Mr. Tillyard's book. But his was no small mind of whom it can be said (by Mr. Tillyard, quoting from Tischbein's memoirs) that he 'loved two things in particular, Greek vases and volcanoes,' and who, living at Naples, was 'luckily able to enjoy them both.' Of the two great collections Hamilton formed, the first, as is well known, passed in its entirety to the British Museum in 1772. The second, whose varied and in part sensational fortunes Mr. Tillyard recounts in his Introduction, was finally dispersed in 1917 at the sale of the Hope Heirlooms (sculpture and vases) from the Deepdene, near Dorking, long the property of the Hope family.

Deplorable as it was from the point of view of the study of Greek vase-painting, this dispersal would have meant a still more irreparable loss to students and to the public, had not the exacting task of describing and photographing the 300 and more vases been undertaken in time by expert hands. As it was, the interruption of his work by the war, and the difficulty afterwards of discovering the new location of each vase, must have made Mr. Tillyard's task immeasurably heavier. The volume before us, sumptuously produced by the Cambridge University Press, is in every way worthy of the cause it serves. Arranged and classified with the precision of a catalogue, it is yet full of refreshment to the reader, be he specialist or no. Whether he is making allowance for the frailties even of Greek craftsmen, or quoting the solemn opinions of scholars on subjects of which the plain man is a far better judge, Mr. Tillyard is never deserted by his sense of humour and proportion. In fact he is always on the side of the plain man; not least when he disposes of a well-

meant hypothesis with the withering remark that 'Greek artists were not in the habit of representing centaurs and Lapiths sitting down in amity to the wedding-breakfast of Pirithous' (p. 67). A pleasant humanity and a faculty for minute observation combine to give us many fresh points, such as the comparison of the character of silens in earlier and in later red-figure art, on p. 73.

Quite apart from its value as a catalogue, the book carries the study of Greek vase-painting a step further. In his discussion of the various groups of South Italian vases and of the late Attic wares which are occasionally confused with them, Mr. Tillyard breaks new ground. The subject is complex, and the chart which he gives us is admittedly only an outline. But it is no small service to have made more generally known in England the work of the Italian pioneers in this field—Gabrici, Patroni, Macchioro, and to some extent Ducati—and to pay to their work the tribute of argued criticism and differing conclusions.

Perhaps the most striking single contribution which Mr. Tillyard makes to the study of this part of the subject, is that he disengages from the mass of degraded or half-understood Greek forms and traditions in which the South Italian vase-painters' art is swathed something that may really be called native: the vigour and the spirit of burlesque which find their best expression in such pieces as the Dolon krater in the British Museum and the krater No. 208 in the Hope Collection. It is tempting to bring this point into connexion with the strong claim that has been made of late for the recognition of an original, native element in Roman sculpture. For, paradoxical as it may sound, portraiture and burlesque are the expression in different moods of the same realistic vein.

Before dealing with the various phases and subdivisions of South Italian vase-painting itself, Mr. Tillyard has something to say about the later stages of Attic vase-painting from Meidias onward—a notoriously meagre chapter in the history of the subject. By following the development of the

bell-krater shape he establishes a more definite chronology for the period, and he shows how wide a gap of time and temperament separates the cloying Meidian style from the work of the 'Kertch' period (half a century later) with its 'unostentatious grace' and 'deliberately lowered vitality.' He also brings out the three-dimensional character of the Meidian age by reminding us of the many vases painted in a totally different manner which form the background to the Meidian school and its vogue.

Some space is devoted to distinguishing this late Attic work from the earlier examples of South Italian work done under Attic influence.

For a final classification of South Italian vase-types the time is not yet ripe. In spite of much work done, especially by the Italian scholars mentioned, every new classification is liable to be modified continually by the results of excavation on one new site after another; as it is, there is wide divergence of opinion between scholars as to the homes of the more important styles and the chief centres of production.

In his discussion of individual vases Mr. Tillyard has some stimulating suggestions to make; notably with regard to the high-girt Artemis with a stag on a Nolan amphora (No. 95) which he claims as one of the earliest known examples of the type and connects with the statue made for Calydon by Menaechmus and Soïdas (Paus. VII. 18. 9).

On the literary side, he makes the suggestion, which is at least plausible, that the scene on vase No. 136 is based on the satyric play *Ἡφαιστος* known to have been written by Achaëus of Eretria. The inscription on this bell-krater, *καλὸς ἠφαιστος* (sic), was discovered by Mr. Tillyard only after the publication of the picture in A. B. Cook's *Zeus* (I. pl. 33, No. 1), in which therefore it does not appear. The question of satyr-plays represented on vases, an extraordinarily interesting one, is raised by no less than three pieces in this catalogue, and references are given.

Of the more important vases and fragments, clear drawings of good size are given, and care is taken in the text

to point out the errors and omissions—often of a flagrant kind—in some of the older reproductions which were till now the only ones available. Of the figured vases some 200 have been photographed by Mr. Tillyard and are given on 30 plates. A careful index is not wanting. It should also be mentioned that Mr. Tillyard has been able to include some valuable fresh material put at his disposal by Mr. J. D. Beazley.

Few slips occur even in the technical parts of the text: one may note a comma left out after 'incision' on p. 24 (third line from the bottom), and r. (wrist) instead of l. on p. 142 (fourth line from top). Should not reference have been made on p. 6 to Ducati's substantial monograph *Saggio di studio sulla ceramica attica figurata del secolo IV av. Cristo* (Rome 1916)? On the bell-krater No. 24 it is hardly credible that Dionysus should really be 'prodding' the silen: the attitude of the latter, with the part supposed to be hurt thrust forward, is against it, and so is the negligent way in which Dionysus carries his thyrsus. The silen seems rather to be acting a part, with Dionysus and Maenad as half-contemptuous spectators: the part would be that of a writhing and bellowing victim. If it were not for the absence of 'make-up,' one would suppose another scene from a satyric play.

Too much stress can hardly be laid on the service which this book renders in placing on record the present whereabouts of the vases. When we consider that until quite recently the Hope Collection was, for all practical purposes, inaccessible, we need not regret too acutely a dispersal which has caused some of the most charming, if not the most famous, of the pieces to find their way into galleries where the public may come to know and to enjoy them. The Ashmolean Museum in particular may be congratulated on securing the fragment (No. 137, pl. 22) with a representation of Danaë in the chest, with her child Perseus. She sits with her head bowed forward and half-hidden by a veil; and it is impossible not to feel the inner harmony rare in the relations of Greek art with literature—

between the spirit of this Danae and the lines in Simonides' poem, where she prays :

ὅττι δὲ θαρσαλέον ἔπος  
εὐχόμαι καὶ νόσφι δίκας, σὺ γυνώθι μοι.

MARY BRAUNHOLTZ.

### THE CRAFT OF ATHENIAN POTTERY.

*The Craft of Athenian Pottery.* By GISELA M. A. RICHTER, Litt.D. One vol. Pp. xiii + 113; 89 half-tone and black-and-white illustrations. Yale University Press; London: Milford, 1923. 25s. net.

It is surprising that the writers on vase-technique have hitherto never worried to learn to make a vase themselves. Miss Richter, disturbed, as she tells us, by the questions of some practical potters to whom she had been lecturing some years ago, decided that she had better go to a pottery school. She went, learnt to make vases, and has now given us the result of her experience and experiments. Her little book is excellent: clear, concise, restrained, and, as the subject demands, businesslike. Most descriptions of technical processes are difficult to follow, but Miss Richter is perfectly lucid in describing the manufacture of vases. The first chapter (which occupies the bulk of the book) describes in detail the various processes from the preparation of the clay to the finishing of the pot ready for the market; the second chapter describes and discusses the antique representations of potters at work; the third chapter is a little *corpus* of passages from ancient authors and inscriptions bearing on the potter's craft, with brief comments. All the processes are clearly and fully illustrated by pictures of actual vases and of potters at their work.

It is impossible in a brief space to comment on all the many interesting conclusions Miss Richter reaches. She has settled a number of points, most of them conclusively. A few examples must suffice. Reichold's theory that the *ἐποίησεν* vase-signatures refer not to the potter but to the draughtsman who sketched the picture is, her experience convinces her, false, for the potter of a fine specimen had every reason to be proud of himself. Attic vases showing signs of the most accurate and minute finish, Mr. Hambidge's

theories of 'dynamic symmetry' are not to be rejected on grounds of technique. We learn that the kylix was the hardest shape to make, and that making and applying of handles are ticklish jobs. Miss Richter is of the opinion that the Attic pot was painted before firing, and fired once, not twice; and, unless unexpected evidence turns up, one may say she has settled the controversy on these questions. There are some very interesting pages on the use of red ochre—an old point of dispute—in which she proves that red-figure Attic vases were washed on the outside with a pigment of red ochre before they were decorated or fired. No one who has had much to do in handling Attic vases is likely to disagree. Finally, it may be noted that Miss Richter believes that Attic vases were utensils, not nicknacks. She will have the sympathy of all English people who regret the ornamentation of the native lodging-house; they will prefer to think of a krater being carried into the dining-room for the mixing of wine rather than standing on a bracket in the drawing-room. That the Attic pottery trade should concern articles of use and not 'presents from Athens' is not unimportant to the student of Greek economics.

There is a slip in line 3 of page 71, 'bell krater' for 'kalyx krater.' Miss Richter's argument (p. 101) that the giving of vases as prizes in games indicates a certain social status of the makers of vases is not sound. Panathenaic vases are reputed to have held sacred oil, and the giving of vases was probably a religious convention. No one, as far as I know, argues that the makers of communion-plate must have a certain social status.

Miss Richter's book will be invaluable to students of Greek vases, and interesting both to the student of any kind of pottery and to anyone concerned with the social life of the Greeks.

E. M. W. TILLYARD.

THE TEUBNER TEXT OF THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN  
PROBLEMATA.

*Aristotelis quae feruntur Problemata Physica.* Edidit CAROLUS AEMILIUS RUELLE; recognovit HERMANNUS KNOELLINGER. Editionem post utriusque mortem curavit praefatione ornavit JOSEPHUS KLEK. Pp. xvi + 317. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922.

THIS edition is based in the main upon the work of the late C. E. Ruelle, who died at an advanced age in 1912. After his death the work was continued by H. Knoellinger, and was announced for publication when the war broke out. Knoellinger having been killed in action, Joseph Klek has completed the work.

The present is not the occasion to deal with the interesting problems of the authorship and sources of the *Problemata*, and the following remarks will be strictly confined to the text.

Anyone who has used Bekker's text of this work must recognise that it is far from satisfactory. The present text is to some extent an improvement, chiefly owing to Ruelle's new and careful collation of the best existing MS., Y<sup>a</sup> (Parisinus 2036); his collation for the first time of A<sup>p</sup> (Bibl. Nat. 1865) is of less importance, since it is obviously inferior to the Vatican and Laurentian MSS., X<sup>a</sup> and C<sup>a</sup>. A careful examination of the text leaves the impression that it is capable of still further improvement. The nineteenth book, a *locus classicus* on Greek music, has had countless commentators, who have provided an embarrassing array of suggested emendations; but the work as a whole had only previously been studied systematically by Sylburgh, Bekker, Bussemaker, and Bonitz.

Lack of space forbids a detailed criticism, and I shall merely attempt to point out some of the sources from which improvements might be derived.

Firstly, the early Latin versions, especially that of Theodore Gaza, who evidently had access to better MSS. than those which exist to-day, have already been extensively used, especially by Sylburgh. There are, however,

numerous other passages where Gaza's version supplies the right reading. To give a few examples: 906a 5, τὸ αὐτὸ πλεῖον <τοῦ μείον>ος; 918b 10, διὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον. <τὸ δὲ ἀνάλογον> ἰσότης; 924b 31, τὰ δὲ <νεώτερα> ἀσθενέστερα; 937a 36, ἐπὶ τῇ σώματι ὃν (for ἐπεὶ τὸ σωματίον); 954b 19, ἐπιπόλαια (contrasted with ὅσοις εἰς βάθος, l. 20) for παλαιά.

Secondly, parallel passages in the *Problemata* will often supplement one another: e.g. 874b 11-13 is obviously a 'doublet' in a very fragmentary condition of 872b 26-31, and should be restored accordingly; again, in 897a 33 πάχος should be read for πάθος, *cp.* 871a 26 and G.A. 739a 12.

Thirdly, since many passages are derived from other works in the Aristotelian Corpus and from Theophrastus, these will often supply the right reading: e.g. 869a 7, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον <ἐκθερμαίνεσθαι> from Theophr. *de sudore*, 36; 924b 8, ἔτι δὲ ἢ (for ἐν ἡ) παράσαξις ἀλέαν ποιεῖ (for ποιεῖν) ὥστε . . . ἀνιέναι (for ἐνιέναι) from *id. de caus. plant.* V. 6, 5; 941a 38 τοῦ ἡλίου <οὐ> πόρρω ὄντος from *id. de ventis*, 49; 942a 24, λοιπόν for the meaningless θερμόν (*ib.* 36); 950a 12, ὁρῶν μὲν γὰρ ὁ λέων (for ὁρῶν) from *E.N.* 1118a 19 ff.

Lastly, it would be possible to compile a list of numerous small emendations which seem worthy of adoption: e.g. 864b 32, ὅπως for ὅτι ὥς; and 960a 27, ὁρᾷ for δρᾷ (both suggested by H. P. Richards); 896b 12, ὁτιοῦν for ὅτι πᾶν (Platt); and 936a 31, οὐ κωλύει (*cp.* l. 29) for οὕτω λυεῖ.

Misprints in the text and notes are not infrequent. At 964b 9 a whole line has fallen out of the text.

The preface contains a valuable bibliography, which should, however, have included Mr. H. P. Richards' illuminating comments on a number of passages in his *Aristotelica*, and articles by Professors Bywater and Platt (*J. of Ph.* XXXII., pp. 107 ff., 298 f.).

EDWARD S. FORSTER.

## SCHOOLS OF GAUL.

*Schools of Gaul: A Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire.* By THEODORE HAARHOFF. 8vo. Pp. 272. Oxford: University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

A humble apology for the tardy appearance of this notice is due to Mr. Haarhoff from some person or persons unknown as well as from the present reviewer.

A good account in English of Gallo-Roman education in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era was certainly a *desideratum*. Mr. Haarhoff has produced a very readable book on the subject. His treatise, which has grown out of a thesis for an Oxford degree, bears ample evidence of painstaking research. The author is manifestly anxious to avoid making unsupported statements, and it is pleasant to find that some more or less serious misconceptions which appear in other works on the subject find no place in this one. But while gladly acknowledging that the work has considerable merits, and is a notably good specimen of a scholar's *primitiae*, one must confess that it might be much improved by drastic revision and ruthless excision. It has many of the faults of the average thesis. Irrelevancies are many and extensive, facts and quotations are sometimes dragged in by the heels, and the arrangement of matter in the various sections occasionally leaves a good deal to be desired. Some of the introductory sections, such as those on 'Celtic influence' and on 'Germanic influence,' are not only unnecessarily rambling, but in parts quite misleading. The statement (pp. 16 f.) that 'the style of Sidonius . . . undoubtedly owes its exotic character in order, rhythm, and vocabulary to Celtic and Gothic influence' is only less horrible than the evidence given in the footnote to support it. It is true that Mr. Haarhoff is not the first to say this sort of thing, but one is sorry to find him reiterating with such emphasis a glaringly erroneous opinion. A similar but more excusable docility leads him (p. 19) to follow Jung in a very questionable

inference from certain inscriptions of Arles and Trèves; but even Hirschfeld is similarly rash in the case of Autun. The statement (p. 21) about Bissula, the slave-girl who fell into the hands of Ausonius, is a good deal worse than far-fetched; and the section in which it occurs shows in general a certain lack both of clearness and of exactness. The last paragraph on p. 23 (on the knowledge of Latin among the Goths) is rather obscure. After drawing a distinction between the nobles and the lower classes as regards acquaintance with the Latin tongue, the author mentions a case where an interpreter was required, but leaves the reader in doubt as to whether such help was required by both classes of the people. In the next case mentioned, that of the embassy of Epiphanius to Euric, the use of an interpreter probably implies that the Visigothic prince knew only the popular spoken Latin, and did not feel confidence in his ability to understand and fittingly answer the rounded periods and polished language of the Roman orator; and as Epiphanius had come on a very delicate mission, it was important that he should be fully understood. Mr. Haarhoff is not ignorant of the fact that there was more than one kind of Latin, but in the section in question he does not seem to bear it sufficiently in mind.

Part II.A is headed, 'The General Prosperity of the Schools in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries.' This heading inspires one with grave fears, which are unfortunately confirmed by the chapter which follows. One cannot safely lump together the fourth and fifth centuries in this way. The Gaul of Ausonius is not the Gaul of Sidonius. No doubt we may talk of 'prosperity of the schools in the fourth century,' even perhaps to the end of the first quarter of the fifth; but after that time there is no real evidence of prosperity. It is even hard to prove beyond a doubt that any Gallic town possessed a state school in that later period. This is not to say that higher education was not common among the Gallo-Roman nobility; teachers were, of course, to



be found. But Rome no longer had either power or motive to foster the old system, and the glib affirmations so often made about Gothic or Burgundian support of education at this time rest on a very slender foundation.

In his account of the organisation of the schools Mr. Haarhoff has much that is interesting to say; and if his attempts to fill from other quarters the gaps in our knowledge of Gaul do not always inspire confidence, one is more inclined to sympathise than to find fault.

Part III., on 'Christian Education,' leaves a good deal to be desired. And no wonder. It is impossible to crowd into a few years the work of half a lifetime. Mr. Haarhoff has attempted too much; but even in the less successful parts of the book he makes some valuable remarks. It is to be hoped that he will continue to work in the field in which he has already staked a very promising claim.

W. B. ANDERSON.

### THE MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM.

*The Monumentum Ancyranum.* Edited by E. G. HARDY. Pp. 166. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1923. Price 8s. 6d.

IN this compact and unpretending volume Dr. Hardy has at last given us the English edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* for which we have been waiting; one which shows the accurate scholarship, historical judgment, and lucid exposition which we have learned to expect from him. Candidates for *Literae Humaniores* or the Classical Tripos, Part II., and all who appreciate and value the work of Augustus or are interested in the Roman Empire, will be well advised to purchase a copy of this edition of 'perhaps the most interesting and important inscription that has ever come to light.'

Each section of the *Monumentum* is treated separately, a terse translation and adequate commentary being given; and the very detailed analysis at the beginning renders an index superfluous. Although the book is professedly based on Mommsen's edition, and the editor modestly disclaims originality, the treatment is always fresh and scholarly. I would single out for praise the handling of the vexed question of the censuses held by Augustus, and the excellent account of the Armenian and Parthian problems, and of the efforts made by Augustus to solve them; there is a good section upon the Arabian expedition and on Indian trade, and the way in which Augustus clung to the old republican customs and religious usages is well brought out, while such

minor points as the use that Suetonius or Velleius made of the *Monumentum*, and the inaccuracies of Dio, are all discussed.

Still, there are one or two changes that should be made in the second edition. Dr. Hardy is not always quite fair to Augustus: thus on p. 16 he charges him with 'family pride' and 'personal vanity,' though he is compelled to acknowledge (on p. 106) the 'extraordinary brevity and meagreness' with which Augustus records the celebration of the *ludi saeculares*. I would question the statement (p. 37) that Augustus' 'best deserved triumph was that for the useful frontier work accomplished by the Illyrian campaigns,' which appears to rob him of any credit for delivering Rome from the peril of an Eastern capital and Oriental forms of government. When the editor rightly notices the delicate way in which Augustus avoids all mention of his defeated Roman adversaries, Sextus Pompeius and Antony (pp. 27 and 108), and his remarkable refusal of the pontificate until Lepidus died (p. 65), it seems a pity to reproduce as trustworthy the insinuations of Tacitus (p. 73), or to talk of 'an unreal show of deference to the Senate' (p. 77). It is true that Augustus was a master of cautious compromise and a consummate diplomat, but that does not make him a monster of dissimulation.

Although Mommsen's text has been closely followed (with occasional variations, as on p. 117, where Wölfflin's emendation is accepted), room might

have been found for Hirschfeld's 'veniam petentibus' on p. 32, for Haverfield's 'intra perpaucos dies' on p. 44, and for Wirtz' 's.c. mecum' on p. 106. On p. 66 the text should surely read 'Fortunae Reducis,' and on p. 99 ought not 'ad aede Apollinis' to read 'ad aedem Apollinis'? In the preface note should possibly have been made

of Dr. Fairley's Philadelphia edition, and on p. 12 the appearance of *C.I.L.* III. is dated ten years too early (1863 instead of 1873).

But all these are very slight and easily corrigible blemishes in a welcome work. No student of the Roman Empire can afford to remain without it.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

### WYLIE'S CORREALITY AND SOLIDARITY.

*Correality and Solidarity.* By J. K. WYLIE. One vol. Pp. xvi+365. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1923. 18s.

MONOGRAPHS on special points in Roman Law are rare in this country, and Professor Wylie is the first among us to produce such a work in which an attempt is made to reconstruct the classical law by applying to Justinian's texts the critical method compendiously called the study of Interpolations. The author attacks a problem which has had many solutions: the determination of the principle on which, in some joint obligations, the bringing of an action between any pair of the parties ended the obligation altogether, while there were others in which, though this effect was not produced at strict law, there was equitable relief. He also propounds the view that sometimes where there was not such unity of *causa* and object that action brought between two parties 'consumed' the whole obligation, satisfaction to, or by, one of the parties ended it, at strict classical law, without the help of equitable relief, and quite apart from the substitution of satisfaction for action brought, which Justinian has introduced into so many texts.

The subject is technical: a full review in these pages is hardly called for, but something must be said of the author's use of his method. The book is not easy, but that is not his fault: the topic is difficult. His reasoning is mostly clear and sound and his indications of interpolations are cautious and sober, in refreshing contrast to some continental work.

The cogency of reasoning, however, depends on the soundness of the assumptions, and some of his doctrine

rests on doubtful bases. He tells us—it appears indeed as a Leitmotiv at many points—that active joint obligation leads 'naturally' to partition, while on the passive (*i.e.*, the debtor's) side it leads 'naturally' to solidarity. In proof, we are told that each creditor has his interest, and wants his part, but is indifferent as to which debtor pays. This assumes that debtors have no interest, or none that the law takes into account. That was hardly the attitude of the law, *e.g.*, in alternative obligations. In *mutuum* to two we are expressly told that the obligation was divided, apart from express agreement (C. 4. 2. 12). The fact that it was unilateral hardly suffices to base the view that it was differently treated from other *credita*; indeed, the same effect is indicated in other cases, *e.g.*, in D. 21. 1. 44. 1 (bilateral); D. 45. 2. 11. 2 (unilateral).

To show that a text is altered is one thing: to reconstruct the original is another, and here the author is adventurous. Verbal accuracy is not in question, but substantial accuracy is doubtful in many cases. He speaks of his reconstructed texts as 'authorities': they are in fact illustrations, showing what a text may originally have said, if his conclusions on principle are sound. A text dealing with joint obligation (D. 45. 2. 12. 1) he alters (p. 109) introducing sureties, a peregrine, and a *stipulatio post mortem*, of all of which the text has no sign. Another, on the same topic (D. 45. 2. 3. 1.), he so alters (p. 126) as to introduce sureties taken *in provincia*, the *lex Furia de sponsu*, and the question whether *fidepromissores* had the *beneficium divisionis*. His justification here is that the text is from Ulpian, *ad Sabinum*, 47,

and 'almost all the fragments we possess from' this *liber* 'have some relation to suretyship' (p. 53). 'Some relation' is vague: in fact, the majority of the texts from this *liber* have no references to sureties, and a glance at this and the neighbouring *libri* in Lenel's *Palingenesia* will show that joint and accessory stipulations were both discussed in *liber* 47. But, apart from this, the odds against such elaborate reconstructions are incalculably great. There are others of the same kind. One reconstruction seems impossible. D. 13. 5. 18. 3 begins 'Vetus fuit dubitatio an qui hac actione egit (actio de constituto) sortis obligatio consumat.' He substitutes: 'Vetus est dubitatio an qui ex hac actione solvit sortis obligationem consumat' (p. 185). This is language never found. 'Consumere' an obligation

is to absorb it into another. Release by payment, direct or indirect, is found in many texts, but the form is always 'liberat reum,' 'proficit reo,' or the like. This text is considered in connexion with the author's view that where there is no 'correal' unity, there may yet in some cases be civil discharge by payment by or to a party. This discussion is a good example of the author's method. Like his other reasonings it shows insight and knowledge. But it is highly *a priori* (the texts are of little service), and the conclusion cannot be said to be proved. The writer has a fertile mind and is a good critic, and many of his observations are illuminating. The further works on allied topics, which are promised, will be welcome. They will be the better if the author is a little less dogmatic.

W. W. BUCKLAND.

### THE LOEB CICERO.

*Cicero: Pro Archia, Post Reditum in Senatu, Post Reditum ad Quirites, De Domo sua, De Haruspicum Responsis, Pro Plancio.* By N. H. WATTS. One vol. Pp. 1-551. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923.

MR. WATTS'S task as a translator has been put to a severe test in the preparation of this volume, since its contents chiefly consist of Cicero's weakest speeches, viz. the four orations delivered after his return from exile. It cannot be denied that he has achieved considerable success. I take first a well-known passage from the *Pro Archia*, §§ 28-9, which is thus rendered:

'For magnanimity looks for no other recognition of its toils and dangers save praise and glory; once rob it of that, gentlemen, and in this brief and transitory pilgrimage of life what further incentive have we to high endeavour? If the soul were haunted by no presage of futurity, if the scope of her imaginings were bounded by the limits set to human existence, surely never then would she break herself by bitter toil, rack herself by sleepless solicitude, or struggle so often for very life itself. But deep in every noble

heart dwells a power which plies night and day the goad of glory, and bids us see to it that the remembrance of our names should not pass away with life, but should endure coeval with all the ages of the future.'

The translator's style does not desert him when he is dealing with less inspiring speeches, e.g. *Dom.* § 98:

'To undergo such deep grief of heart, and to endure in loneliness all the sufferings of the conquered inhabitants of a captured city that survives her capture; to see one's self torn from the clasp of one's kin, dwelling shattered, property plundered, and, bitterest of all, country forfeited for country's sake; to be deprived of the proudest bestowals of the Roman people, to be sent hurtling down from the pinnacle of majesty, to see foes in the garb of office demanding the funeral dues even before the lamentations for death have arisen; to endure to be a broken-hearted eyewitness of all this, in order to save the lives of compatriots, facing it not with the philosophy of those to whom nothing matters, but with the deep love for your dear ones and yourself which is imperative to our universal humanity;—this, indeed, is a glory transcending, nay, divine.'

Such passages may be read with pleasure by persons ignorant of Latin, while the Latin scholar will observe that the rendering is close and felicitous. There are, of course, many weaknesses and questionable renderings to be found in the volume, e.g. *Dom.* § 20, in eius regnum . . . patrociniū huius imperii immissis] 'you inflicted the patronage of this empire upon the realm'; § 69, flamma temporis] 'a piece of inflammatory opportunism'; *Har. Resp.* § 4, scelus . . . adolescentis furentis, nobilis] 'criminality . . . displayed by a maddened and exasperated young nobleman'; *Planc.* 95, lapidem e sepulchro venerari pro deo] 'giving divine honours to a piece of sepulchral masonry.' Sometimes modern slang is introduced: thus *Dom.* 14 we have 'a troupe of partisans, personally coached by yourself' and 'as if I . . . had made a corner in wheat.' The perpetual translation of *vir* as 'gentleman' in such phrases as *vir fortissimus* is irritating, while the horrible word 'proletariate' is sometimes used to render *plebs*.

In a prefatory note Mr. Watts says that in translating the speech *Pro Archia* and the four *Post Reditum* he has based his text upon that of Klotz in the Teubner edition (1866). In the *Pro Plancio* he has used Garatoni (Leipzig, 1824). He has also 'occasionally adopted emendations of Sir W.

Peterson in his Oxford Text,' recording such adoptions in the critical notes. The edition of Klotz has long been obsolete, having been superseded by Baiter-Halm and C. W. F. Müller, and it is most singular that it should have received this honour. An unfortunate consequence is that orthographical oddities are to be found: thus the form *quum* for *cum* survives sporadically, while *Planc.* § 26 we find *lacrymis* in the text and *lacrimis* in a note. The strangest point in the present volume, viz., the insertion of the speech *Pro Plancio* after those *Post Reditum*, while in all modern editions it occupies its proper chronological place after the *In Pisonem*, is based not on Klotz, but on more ancient texts. The prefatory note gives a list of MSS. used, but the reader is not told that they contain the *Post Reditum* speeches only. The critical notes are full of mistakes, e.g. *Planc.* 29, 'facilis MSS.: fragilis B: futilis Holden,' where for *B* should be read *Bake*, and for *Holden* should be substituted O. Müller. I notice with mingled feelings that an emendation of my own in *Planc.* 35, without the explanation which makes it possible, is ascribed to Peterson, while two others (§§ 59, 63) are printed in the text without any hint that the MSS. read otherwise.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

#### GRAMMATICAL REFORM.

*Report of the American Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature.* Published by the National Education Association, Washington, D.C. Pp. 75. 25 cents.

THE final form of this report has just been issued, and the Committee is to be congratulated on the conclusion of its long labours (1911-23). The result is a very elaborate document, which goes more into detail than the report of the English Joint Committee, but is based on exactly the same principle, viz. that the terminologies employed in the teaching of the grammars of different languages, ancient and modern, should be unified in the interests alike of grammatical science and of practical

school work. Space forbids a discussion of this thorough bit of work in detail. But I will call attention to some salient points. The American report agrees with the English in adhering to the Parts of Speech—eight in number: it lends no countenance to the demand raised by certain members of the English Association in this country for the abandonment of this classification in favour of Jespersen's attempt at a new classification founded on what he calls a 'logical basis'—an attempt which I criticised last year (see *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, Vol. XX. 1923, pp. 35-44). It also agrees with the English Joint Committee in recommending the Latin

names (Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Genitive) for the case-uses of nouns and pronouns; but it distinguishes these from case-forms, of which it recognises only two, the 'genitive' and the 'common.' This strikes me as not very happy; for all case names in all languages are names of functions, not of forms, which are indeed so various that no terms could be found to describe them. In the treatment of the moods and tenses there is almost complete agreement between the two Joint Committees; thus the American report calls *essem* and the English 'were' past (not imperfect) subjunctives, and *fueram* and 'had been' past perfect (not pluperfect) indicatives. On the other hand, there are some points of divergence between the two Committees, which were only to be expected, considering that the national traditions had to be respected in both cases. What the American report aims at is to secure uniformity in the practice of *American* teachers; the English had the same object in view for the practice of *English* teachers. Neither Committee set out to provide a scheme which should be acceptable both in England and in America. For example the terms 'volition' and 'volitive' could hardly achieve currency in British class-rooms: we should prefer to speak of 'resolve,'

as more intelligible to school children. Again, the English Committee preferred 'prospective' to 'anticipatory' as simpler and shorter; there is no difficulty in speaking of an act as 'in prospect'; and it is not quite true, as is said on p. 33, that the English Committee 'while adopting *prospective* is obliged also to accept *anticipation*.' The word 'anticipation' occurs only once, in a statement where it might easily have been avoided (p. 34 of the English report), and there was no intention of recommending it for use. Another American term which we did not like was 'ideal certainty.' But it is by no means necessary that all countries should agree in their grammatical terminology: the objects of both the American and English Committees will have been attained if in each of these countries a single system of nomenclature is established. And we can congratulate them on the acceptance of their report by several important Associations in America (see pp. 66 f.), just as they congratulate us (p. x) on the endorsement of our report by the three Government Committees which were specially appointed to consider methods of teaching modern and ancient languages in British schools.

E. A. SONNENSCHIN.

#### A GREEK COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES.

Φῶς εἰς τὸ Θουκυδίδειον Ἔρεβος. Book I. By K. A. LASKARIS. Pp. 138. Athens: Vartsos, 1922. 20 dr.

THIS is the first instalment of what the author hopes will be a complete (and quite original) commentary on Thucydides; and there is also to be one on Sophocles—truly a *πελώριον ἔργον*, as he tells us the Greek Minister for Education called it. But, to judge from this book, Mr. Laskaris is not adequately equipped for his task. His main object—he says so himself—is to show that modern scholars have seriously misunderstood a great number of passages in Thucydides, and to throw a little neo-Hellenic light on them; but the only commentaries with which he betrays first-hand acquaintance are

those of Herbst and Classen-Steup (edition of 1897); the names of Stahl, Croiset, Hude appear indeed in his pages, but all apparently, even Hude's, at second hand. He shows no knowledge of the relative value of the different MSS., nor of their grouping, nor of any of the papyrus fragments. He follows no principles of criticism, and so makes the wildest and most improbable conjectures; and he sometimes has strange ideas of what Thucydides could write. I must briefly support these statements.

I. I. ἀκμάζοντες τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτόν. Mr. Laskaris says simply 'only two MSS. read ἦσαν, the rest ἦσαν,' without noticing that the two MSS. are F and the second hand of G (a rare and

perhaps significant combination), and that they are supported by a scholiast on the *Republic*, Photius, Suidas, and Zonaras; and he proposes to read *κατέστησαν*, with a host of quotations to prove that *καταστήναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον* is possible Greek.

33. 3. *μηδὲ δυοῖν φθάσαι ἀμάρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι*. This is indeed a crux. Mr. Laskaris would read: *καὶ* [with the meaning of *μηδέ*] *δυοῖν ἀμάρτωσι, φθάσαι κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μὴ βεβαιώσασθαι*. 'The corruption is easily seen to arise from a careless transposition of *φθάσαι* and of *μὴ* into the place of the lost *καί*. Then ἢ . . . ἢ is a later addition.'

40. 6. *εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακὸν τι δρῶντας δέχομενοι τιμωρήσεται, κ.τ.λ.* He rightly rejects both the conjectures of Badham and Cobet, and Steup's proposal to transfer the whole paragraph to the end of c. 42. But he does not like the general form of the words *τοὺς κακὸν τι δρῶντας*, and demands something particularly and definitely referring to Corcyra; and proposes (what do you imagine?) *τούσδε τοὺς κακὸν ὃ τι ἐστὶ δρῶντας*.

In 103. 1 he would defend *δεκάτῳ ἔτει* on the sole ground that a siege of this duration is possible (Pausanias says the siege of Eira took eleven years), being quite ignorant of any other historical objection.

Yet there are some useful notes in the book and some fruitful suggestions, though perhaps none of his conjectures can be accepted as they stand. He is right in defending *δυοῖν γὰρ ἄμαξαι ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπήγον* in 93. 5 as essential to the sentence; and there may be something in his view that the words *ὅπερ νῦν ἐτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ* are the note of a much later antiquary, though the passage is not cured by merely omitting them (see, however, Harrison in *C.R.* XXVI. [1912], p. 248). In 25. 4 he would read *ἐν τοῖς τότε* for *ἔστιν ὅτε*; and the crux in 17 he would solve by writing (as I do not remember to have seen elsewhere): *εἰ μὴ εἴ τι τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οὔτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως, πρὸς περιόλους τοὺς αὐτῶν*. Alter the order and this may be on the right lines, though it does not accurately describe the achievements of Gelo and Hiero.

Doubtless it is difficult for a man living in Mytilene to remain in touch with current work. But in that case Mr. Laskaris might have been more modest and less dogmatic in his criticism of others, and have refrained from throwing mud at some of his countrymen for refusing his double application—for the publication of his two books, and for the chair of Ancient Literature at Athens.

A. W. GOMME.

#### WALKER'S ADDENDA SCENICA.

*Addenda Scenica*. By RICHARD JOHNSON WALKER, M.A. Pp. ix+611. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1923.

THIS book is, as its title implies, a miscellany. In a volume containing more than 600 pages, the first part (Papers I. and II.), extending to p. 320, is devoted to a detailed discussion of the Fragments ascribed to the Minor Tragedians, as recorded in Nauck's collection. To these the editor makes certain additions on his own account, but not so many as he appears to claim. Most of the so-called Additional Titles are recorded in Nauck's *Index Poetarum*, free from the clouds of wild guess-work in which Mr. Walker envelops them. The actual additions are Aristolochus

and Lysinus, taken from the Epistles of Phalaris, and Minyros and Aleuas, for whose existence as tragedians there is no evidence at all. Paper III. is entitled 'The Photian Indices to Stobaeus,' but does not mention the work of Elter; and, by an omission which must be described as amazing, Mr. Walker seems to neglect entirely the Wachsmuth-Hense edition of Stobaeus. If he refrains from using what should have been his chief authorities, he cannot be surprised if his efforts are not seriously regarded. Thus, if he had consulted Hense, who gives reasons for thinking that the extract quoted from Floril. II. 2 (Mein.) belongs to Bacchylides, he might have abstained

from his strange conjecture that the apparent lemma Ὀλυμπιάδος 'introduces the exordium of a hymn by Alexander the Great's mother Olympias, who is known to have been an ardent devotee of certain orgiastic mysteries.' Paper IV. deals with the catalogue of Aeschylus' plays preserved in the Medicean MS., and seeks to establish that the order is chronological in so far as it is not strictly alphabetical. It is strange that he makes no mention of the generally accepted view that the list originally contained the titles of ninety plays, and that one column of eighteen titles has been lost. Yet the fact, if established, nearly concerns Mr. Walker's thesis. Paper V. is entitled 'Marmor Albanum' (CIG. 3. 6047), and includes an account of the inscription known as the Marmor Piræicum (CIA. ii. 992). Here also Mr. Walker essays to prove that the apparent disorder of the titles, arranged in part alphabetically and in part not, can be reduced to order if we assume that different types of plays are enumerated, and that within the limits of each type the principle of division was chronological. Here is one of his devices. The schol. on Ar. *Ran.* 67 records the production, after the death of Euripides, of three plays, Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αὔλιδι, Ἀλκμαίωνα, Βάκχας. But for Ἀλκμαίωνα the Venetus gives Ἀλκμαίω δίονα. One might suppose this a mere blunder of dittography with an intrusive διο. Not so Mr. Walker, who reads Ἀλκμαίω (accusative) · Δίονα' (i.e. ἐν), Βάκχας. 'At the games of Dium one play, the *Bacchæ*.' The treatment of the Marmor Piræicum is still more startling. Previous scholars had conjectured that the list was part of a library catalogue. According to Mr. Walker the library belonged to the Bactrian consul, and the disturbance in the alphabetical order ceases when the names are transliterated into Sanskrit. Papers VI. and VII. bear the respective titles 'Dithyrambic Developments' and 'Sock and Buskin,' but they comprise such complex and disputable material that I will not attempt to summarise it.

Those who know Mr. Walker's previous works will know what to expect from this book, and they will not be disappointed. Mr. Walker is

learned and ingenious, but these qualities are rendered nugatory by hasty conclusions and a recklessness of conjecture which is almost incredible. The strangeness of his proceedings is all the more remarkable because he is perfectly well aware that the evidence on which he relies is frequently inadequate. Hence he seeks to disarm criticism by pleading that, though his results are uncertain, they cannot be proved impossible. Let us see how Mr. Walker obtains some of his results; for while he often strains at a gnat and swallows a camel, he constantly builds one hypothesis upon another to the utter confusion of his readers. The Argument of the *Agamemnon* was in its essentials strikingly confirmed by an inscription found on the Acropolis in 1886; and the production of the *Oresteia* at the City Dionysia of 458 may be regarded as one of the best attested facts in the dramatic records. There is, however, a flaw in the words Ὀλυμπιάδι κῆ' ἔτει δευτέρῳ, which is usually mended by the substitution of π' for κῆ'. This is not subtle enough for Mr. Walker, who prefers to suppose that the drama was staged in the archonship of Philocles at the 28th Greater Panathenaea. In this connexion he builds up an extraordinary theory that tragedies were never performed at the City Dionysia in the second year of an Olympiad, but always at the Panathenaea. The remark on p. 306 that *contrary to custom* (my italics) the inscription does not name the second and third competitors would not have been made if Mr. Walker had examined the series of records. Examples like the above must not be thought exceptional; for the reader, as he turns over the pages of this book, will find no lack of disputable matter. What are we to say of the adjective χλανίδιος, invented because Mr. Walker (unlike Hesychius) found the phrase κατήρη χλανιδίους (Eur. *Suppl.* 110) intolerable? Or take this. Having in a previous volume reconstructed the Hesychian gloss ἀναξίαν· βασιλείαν Αἰσχύλος λιανοῖς (fr. 283) as Αἰσχύλος ἰδ' ἀνοῖς ('A. in the Fourteen Follies'), he regards the schol. on Eur. *Phoen.* 1031 τὴν Σφίγγα ὁ Διόνυσος ἔπεμψε τοῖς Θηβαίοις ὡς ἐναντοῖα λέγειν as confirming his conjecture, and for

the last words substitutes *ἐν ἀνοίᾳ λέγει* with the comment 'This particular *Folly* of Euripides was evidently called the *Sphinx*.' Among the shadowy forms which play their parts in this strange game, not the least astonishing is the *Criterion*, a tragedy assigned to Euripides junior with a plot including the Judgement of Paris. The inwardness of this statement will not be apparent to the reader until he discovers from Critias fr. 4 N. that *κριτηρίου* is probably a blunder for *Κριτίου*.

I will confess that I cannot swallow Mr. Walker otherwise than in small doses. In the last two essays, when he begins to make play with *atheta* and with *quarta quae*, with *comico-satyrice*, *tragoediae solemnes*, *quasi-satyrice*, and the rest of the queer company, my head begins to reel: so many are the assumptions which, as it seems to me, are groundless and improbable, and so extraordinary are the results with which he fills the gaps in our literary records.

A. C. PEARSON.

### OUR DEBT TO CICERO.

*Cicero and his Influence.* ('Our Debt to Greece and Rome.') By JOHN C. ROLFE, Ph.D. Pp. vii + 178. London: Harrap and Co., 1923. 10s.

THIS book is good, though in some respects disappointing. That Dr. Rolfe is well qualified to write on Cicero is obvious: in this volume he gives us a clear and sympathetic sketch of the man, discusses shortly his political views, appraises his eloquence, and ends by considering his influence in ancient and modern times. So far, so good. But unfortunately the title of the series in which the book is published compels him too frequently to draw 'lessons' or point to conclusions which the intelligent reader should be allowed to grasp himself; instances will be found on pp. 35, 48, 59, 163 and 168. Nor is a reader likely to be impressed (*à propos* of the tale of Augustus finding his grandson reading Cicero) by the suggestion that 'Only the cinema could do the scene full justice, with a "close-up" of Augustus, his handsome face "registering" deep thought' . . . ; and to say that 'Cicero delivered four orations against' the law of Rullus (p. 42), or that 'in Cicero's Rome the control of the government had fallen into the hands of a body of highly trained men' (p. 17), or to speak of Cicero's 'Origins' (p. 118), is misleading. These, however, are minor slips. But I could wish that, by abbreviating the chapters on Cicero's 'influence,' Dr. Rolfe could have told us more of Cicero's political ideas—('De Re Publica' is dismissed in a few lines, p. 95)—of his sense of Empire; of his feeling for the pro-

vincials, which stands out in a sharp contrast to the apathy or rapacity of his contemporaries; of his efforts at good administration, and of the difficulties therein encountered. By so doing he would have revealed a side of Cicero's public life which merits more attention than it usually gets, would have completed the picture of Cicero's character, and would have left the reader in a position to draw his own conclusions. For after all the question of Cicero's influence belongs more to the history of scholarship. Politian, Cortesi, Bembo, and Erasmus may still be wrangling in Elysium, but, as Dr. Rolfe remarks, 'if in this year of grace Cicero's influence is less obvious than it has been at some previous time, it is because it has been absorbed and assimilated by our modern life and forms an essential part of it, affecting our best literary style and ideals, our manners and morals, in fact our entire civilisation.' This is true, and well said. It is impossible to prove such an elusive thing as 'influence' by an array of statistics or by marshalling names. But perhaps it is unfair to blame Dr. Rolfe: the very title of the series encourages this, as Dr. Mackail has pointed out in the May-June number of the *Classical Review*.

This book may not add much to our knowledge of Cicero—at present that is scarcely possible—but it does give a true and generous picture of the great Roman, without glozing over his faults or over-emphasising his weaknesses.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.



## THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

*The Administration of Justice in the Athenian Empire.* By H. GRANT ROBERTSON. One vol. Pp. 89. University of Toronto, 1924. \$1.00.

THIS volume, which carries on the series of classical monographs by scholars of Toronto University, is chiefly concerned to explain the principles on which judicial cases were shared out between the courts of Athens and of her allies in the Confederacy of Delos. Since the documentary evidence on this subject is neither copious nor clear, the author, like all his predecessors in this quest, is mostly reduced to a balancing of probabilities in his conclusions. In this delicate task he has exercised a wise discretion, and on many points of detail his account is to be preferred to that of Gilbert's well-known handbook. In particular, he performs a useful service in drawing a sharp line of distinction between *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν* and political trials, which never came under the same set of rules.

Mr. Robertson at times leans rather heavily upon texts of doubtful value. In his elucidation of *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν* he makes free use of §§11-13 of the speech *De Halonneso*, although this passage is highly confused and perhaps deliberately confusing. He accepts a story in *Athenaeus* to the

effect that Alcibiades without official sanction expunged a case from the docket of an Athenian court. This anecdote follows upon another yarn which is demonstrably false, and the complete absence of references to the incident among earlier authors makes it suspect. Again, the *Lexicon Seguerianum*, s.v. *κρυπτή*, hardly suffices to prove the existence of a secret police at Athens. This *κρυπτή*, according to the *Lexicon*, was executive as well as inquisitorial: in all probability we have here our old friend the Spartan *κρυπτέλα*. Lastly, the reading [δίκας διδόν[τε]ς πρὸς Ἀθην[αίων τοὺς ἐπισκόπους] in a document from Mitylene, which Mr. Robertson makes much use of, is of doubtful value, and by no means suffices to prove the existence of *ἐπίσκοποι* at Mitylene.

The only other point for criticism is that Mr. Robertson hardly allows for changes in Athenian policy as the making of it passed from Cimon to Pericles and to Cleon. His strictures upon Athenian imperialism, though fundamentally just, therefore may need some qualification.

Taken as a whole, Mr. Robertson's treatise is a careful piece of scholarship, and is well worth study by those who wish to learn the details of Athenian administration. M. CARY.

## THE BUDE PLATO.

*Platon : Oeuvres Complètes.* Tome III., 1<sup>re</sup> partie: Protagoras; texte établi et traduit par ALFRED CROISSET et LOUIS BODIN. Vol. I. 8vo. Pp. 19+132. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. 9 fr.

THIS translation of the *Protagoras* maintains a distinguished level of scholarship and literary skill: it accordingly repays, as well as invites, a careful reading. It brings out well the force and brilliance of a conversation which is one of Plato's highest feats in dramatic description, and contrives on the whole to keep faithfully to the track and shirk no peaks or thickets of idiom. This standard of thoroughness makes one wonder the more at an occasional slip or slide like the following: 311 B—

'Je voulus tâter Hippocrate . . . pour voir le fond de sa pensée,' for καὶ ἐγὼ ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους τῆς ῥώμης διεσκόπουν αὐτὸν ('to test his grit I began examining him'); 314 C—'un propos commencé au long du chemin,' for λόγου . . . ὃς ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνέπεσεν: 315 C—'prononçait des arrêts et dissertait,' for διέκρινεν καὶ διεξήγει (Hippias was 'distinguishing and expounding' the questions put to him); 323 C—'fruit du hasard' . . . effet du hasard,' for ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου . . . τύχη: 360 D—'Il en convint,' for ἐπένευσεν (where a silent unwilling nod must be intended); and it is to be hoped that the 'ordinary reader' in France is quite clear about 'un épistate, un prytane' (338 A).

The text rightly admits only a few modern conjectures, yet Stahl's *ἐπίστασθαι* for *ἐπίσταται* in 312 E, and Baiter's *ὄνυξι* for *θριξι* in 321 B seem almost necessary. On the other hand, there is hardly good enough reason for expelling, with Sauppe, *δι' Ἐπιμηθέα* and, with Deuschle, *διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν* in 322 A; or, with Schanz, *τὰ ἑτέρα τῶν ἑτέρων* in 329 D.

The Introduction provides a brief and lucid account of the characters, construction, and philosophic interest of the dialogue. It insists, perhaps a little too strongly, on the artistic motive for the composition, regarding the thought as a rather crude preliminary to the main thesis of the *Republic*. Perhaps also the modern impulse to give Protagoras his due as an intelligent educator tends here to a certain exaggeration of his mental claims. Plato does indeed keep the First Professor's head well above water, and furnishes it with much good sense as well as knowledge; while Socrates' sham exposition of Simonides is a

scholastic joke that can only be excused by imagining him to be in his twenties rather than—as he really was—in his thirties. Plato conceives him, in fact, as a youth: but the contrast of ages only makes his young hero's serious attack the more striking and significant in its whole revolutionary effect.

The volume is pleasantly printed on good thick paper: a dropped or wrong letter here and there shows that the proofs have not been very carefully revised. The numeration of Stephanus is wisely placed at the top of each page, so that we always know where we are; but frequently there is a difference of several lines between text and translation at the turnover. Worse still, the notes—which are all useful and good—begin on one French page and mostly run over to the next French page, so that hardly ever can they be read without turning once to finish them, and then turning back to proceed with the story. There is no index.

W. R. M. LAMB.

*Platon. Oeuvres Complètes*, tome III., 2<sup>e</sup> partie; *Gorgias*, *Ménon*. Texte établi et traduit par ALFRED CROISSET et LOUIS BODIN; tome VIII., 1<sup>re</sup> partie; *Parménide*. Texte établi et traduit par AUGUSTE DIÈS. Two vols. 8vo. Pp. (i) 23+324; (ii) 65+122. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. (i) 16 fr.; (ii) 10 fr.

THESE two volumes of the 'Budé' Plato maintain the general excellence of their predecessors. The *Gorgias* is provided with a remarkably good introduction, in which the subject, the characters, the construction and the style are briefly and attractively set forth; the account given of Athenian rhetoric, and of Plato's attitude towards it in the *Gorgias*, is admirable, and the peculiar religious tone of his exaltation of philosophy is just sufficiently indicated; but there should be some reference to its probable connection with the foundation of the Academy. There is, in particular, a masterly paragraph on the fine spiritual force of Socrates' unadorned style of eloquence. The text is conservative, with the single exception of *Νόμος* . . . *ἀγειν δίκαιοι τὸ βίαιότατον* (for *ἀγει δίκαιων*, 484 B, suggested by *Laws* 715 A, *ἐφαμέν πον* . . . *τὸν Πίνδαρον ἀγειν δίκαιοῦντα τὸ βίαιότατον*), which seems satisfactory. The translation adds a little colour here and there to a phrase, especially in some of the short replies of the person interrogated, but is otherwise very faithful, and reproduces much of the vigour and grace of the original. The *Meno* might perhaps have had a little fuller treatment in its introduction, but the

general purport is well stated. In the translation, it is not easy to follow the discussion at 84-85, or again at 87 A, without a diagram; we are given none at either place.

VOLUME VIII. of this Plato, of which the first part containing the *Parménides* is now published, is to be completed with the *Theaetetus* and the *Sophist*; another volume will contain the *Politicus* and the *Philebus*. A short general introduction, prefixed to Volume VIII., deals with this whole series of dialogues; it discusses rather the external evidences of their genuineness, sequence and interconnection than their philosophic content, but makes some admirable remarks on their dramatic and literary merits. The *Parménides*, to sixty pages of translation, has the unusual allowance of fifty pages for its special introduction, which will take a creditable place, on account of its orderly method and attractive style, in the real literature of the subject. After quoting at some length (two pages) from the poem of Parménides, it points out the importance, not only of Zeno, but of Gorgias, to the development of the amazing critical energy which Plato displayed in the *Parménides*. It then gives a useful outline of the arguments, and in discussing them dwells on their purpose and value as preparatory exercises, without professing to educe any distinct meaning from their results. The text admits a few modern corrections of minor importance; the *apparatus* is a full one, and pays great attention to the variants of Proclus. The notes are few, but are always helpful and interesting. It is a

pity that, like those in the other volumes of the series, they almost always run over to the next French page (the next but one), so that we have to turn over, and then turn back, before we can proceed with the main business.

W. R. H. LAMB.

*Platon: Oeuvres Complètes.* Tome VIII., 2<sup>e</sup> Partie: Théétète. Texte établi et traduit par AUGUSTE DIÈS. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1924. Pp. 36+214. 12 francs.

THE eighth volume of this excellent version of Plato fully maintains in this second part, which contains the *Theaetetus*, the high level of the *Parmenides* in the first part, and prompts happy anticipations of the *Sophist* in the third. The Introduction deals in turn with the characters, the subject-matter and the text, and takes full and fair account of the most valuable modern discussions of each, without straying into any length of controversy. The translation is always careful to extract the full meaning of the thought in its various turns and refinements, and succeeds in reproducing a fair measure both of the personal tones of the talk and of the strenuous vigour of the reasoning. The claims of completeness occasionally lead to a loss of crispness, as when the opening words—'Ἀπὲρ, ὁ Τερψίων, ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἀγροῦ;—are spread out into—'Ne fais-tu qu'arriver de la campagne, Terpsion? Ou bien y a-t-il longtemps que tu es de retour?' The famous phrase of Socrates about Parmenides that 'he had a kind of depth that was altogether noble' (βάθος τι ἔχειν παντάπασιν γενναῖον, 183E) is rather oddly rendered 'avoir des profondeurs absolument sublimes.' But these are but one or two specks in a finely wrought mirror which is a work of the highest credit to the scholarship and literary art of France. The text offers only two or three slight departures from the received construction of the manuscript and other ancient evidence, the variations of which are clearly stated in the apparatus.

W. R. M. LAMB.

Xenophon, *Anabasis*, Books IV.-VII., with an English translation by CARLETON L. BROWNSON; and *Symposium and Apology*, with an English translation by O. J. TODD. (Loeb Classical Library.) 6½" x 4½". One vol. Pp. 521. London: Heinemann, 1922. 10s.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia and Oeconomicus*, with an English translation by E. C. MARCHANT. (Loeb Classical Library.) 6½" x 4½". One vol. Pp. xxix+532. London: Heinemann, 1923. 10s.

TRANSLATORS of Xenophon court comparison with Dakyns. His work was done with gusto and with humour; but he carried informality too far, and his whimsical touches are alien to the Greek. Mr. Brownson has completed his *Anabasis* in a plain, workmanlike style, well suited to its purpose. Mr. Todd is less successful with the *Symposium* and *Apology*; in dialogue especially his English is cumbrous.

Mr. Marchant is as idiomatic in vocabulary and structure of sentence as Dakyns, but more simple and terse—truly Attic English; he has made an admirable book.

Ethical terms are a problem for translators; Mr. Marchant mostly varies their renderings with the context, but in *Memorabilia* keeps to 'prudence' for σωφροσύνη—surely a doubtful equivalent, which indeed he abandons at *Oec.* 7. 14. 'My duty, as my mother told me, is to be discreet' (σωφρονεῖν). 'Trooper' can hardly be right for ὁπλίτης. It may be doubted if τὰ φαλάγγια . . . προσαφύμενα μόνον τῷ στόματι (*Mem.* 1. 3. 12) means 'the scorpion, if it but fasten on the tongue,' or ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι (*Mem.* 4. 7. 2) 'compute the yield' of a piece of ground.

The introduction dissects the *Memorabilia* acutely; its parts are really separate works. The view that Socrates originated the Theory of Ideas is pronounced 'to say the least extremely doubtful,' and in any case incompatible with the relativity of beauty and goodness which was the Socratic doctrine according to the *Memorabilia* and which appears in *Gorgias* unchallenged. *Oeconomicus* was prized by Ruskin, largely, one suspects, because Ischomachus and his girl-bride appealed to the early-Victorian brand of feminism. In this methodical gentleman, and 'that long-suffering little saint,' Mr. Marchant sees the author himself and his wife Philesia: 'this regimental order in his house is the mirror of Xenophon's mind, for his mind is a series of labelled pigeon-holes, each hole filled with a commonplace thought remorselessly analysed.'

H. RACKHAM.

*Le Latin: Dix Causeries.* By J. MAROUCHEAU. One vol. 8vo. Pp. 278. Paris: H. Didier; Toulouse: E. Privat, 1923.

IN this brisk and stimulating little book M. Marouzeau has published ten popular lectures, originally delivered to the upper classes of the Collège Sévigné in Paris, and now dedicated to his former pupils. The 'forme orale' of the 'causeries,' which is retained throughout, is so lively and direct that we can almost hear the author addressing us in his vigorous, and often colloquial, French. The lectures deal with many different aspects of Latin. The first is mainly concerned with the proper attitude, both of the teacher and of the pupil, towards the study of Latin. With regard to the teacher, M. Marouzeau never tires in insisting on the need of making the ancient world in all its aspects live again in the classroom. To the pupils he says: 'Soyez curieux. Interrogez les textes. Ayez des impressions, des surprises. Étonnez-vous. . . Ouvrez sur le monde des mots des yeux neufs et naïfs, et vous verrez, si l'on sait bien vous éclairer la route, s'animer, se colorer et vivre cette vieille langue morte que la science ressuscite.' The spirit of this last sentence animates the 'causeries' which follow. The second discusses the spelling and pronunciation of Latin; M. Marouzeau is emphatic on the need for reform of the latter very much

on the lines of the reformed pronunciation advocated by the Classical Association. Succeeding chapters deal with Latin texts and manuscripts, Roman life as revealed by Latin authors, the origin and history of the Latin language, and Latin style. The author concludes with an interesting demonstration entitled 'exercice pratique: comment lire un texte,' in which he translates and analyses the beginning of Horace, *Satires*, I. 9 and tries to make Horace's terrible encounter a living experience for us too. Clearly there is room for reform in the teaching of Latin in France, and M. Marouzeau is a tireless and skilful advocate. We need not take offence if in so good a cause he is at times carried away by his enthusiasm and tends to exaggerate. Though most of M. Marouzeau's informative matter is already contained in textbooks, few teachers and still fewer students of Latin will read *Le Latin* without deriving profit both from the clear presentation of the facts and from the author's bracing personality. A good feature is the very serviceable bibliography, intended primarily for French readers, which follows each 'causerie'; but there is no index verborum. A few misprints may puzzle beginners, e.g. D = 50 (p. 46), *quostiens* for *quotiens* (p. 52). English readers will be surprised to find *Tsizeur* (p. 43), and *Mâbre* (p. 57) as phonetic equivalents of Caesar (English pronunciation) and Marlborough. In his philological chapters M. Marouzeau, though generally sound, is not always accurate in details—e.g. *Oscan fatium* (p. 157) is generally regarded as = Latin *fateri* (i.e. *fari*), not *facere*; -r in passive and deponent forms is not confined to Latin and Celtic (as implied on p. 162); the formation of the Latin future and imperfect in -bo and -bam hardly 'se comprend' without further explanation than is given (p. 170), etc. The short paragraph on Roman personal names (p. 148) is very inexact, and the reader must be on his guard against other inaccuracies, which, however, do not seriously affect the author's main purpose.

G. E. K. BRAUNHOLTZ.

*Les Inscriptions Romaines: Bibliographie pratique.* Par L. PERRET, avec une préface de R. CAGNAT. One vol. 12mo. Pp. 42. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1924. 2 fr. 50 c.

THIS little brochure is a practical guide for beginners in Roman Epigraphy, supplying them with (1) information, complementary to the bibliography in Cagnat's *Cours* (fourth edition), about the large collections of inscriptions (including *Inscr. Graecae ad res Rom. pertinentes*), provisional collections, Dessau's selection, etc., and the ground covered by each volume; (2) practical hints how to find their way about *C.I.L.*, where indexed or as yet indexless, and a bibliography of the principal aids to the interpretation of epigraphic texts. The work is well done.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

*Les Divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine.* Par E. ALBERTINI. 10' x 6 1/2". One vol. Pp. vii + 138, with one Map. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1923.

THIS excellent study covers the period of Roman rule in Spain, the last stages of which are treated with more than usual fulness. Not unnaturally, the author sometimes finds himself disagreeing with current views, which rest substantially on the work of Mommsen and Hübner. It is the inevitable fate of great constructive work on a large scale, like that of Mommsen, to become, to no small extent, a *corpus vile*: much of it is bound to be provisional synthesis, which requires verification and correction; but the fact that it is the starting-point of later enquiries is the measure of its value. M. Albertini finds that the Roman administration of Spain was less uniform and rigid than Mommsen, with his juristic outlook, represented it: it was rather a practical adaptation of measures to circumstances varying with the times. The salient feature of pre-Roman Spain, resulting from the joint action of geographical conditions and immigrant influences, was the lack of unity and even of large divisions closely knit by political organisation and uniform culture. The establishment of two Roman provinces followed naturally from the existence of two zones of occupation widely separated by a mountainous tract, and the ultimate delimitation represented in the main the further annexations made from each base: between the two, in the north, lay the unconquered Astures and Cantabri. In 27 B.C. Augustus created three provinces by separating the more civilised southern part of the further province from the northern. So say our ancient authorities, and though their accuracy has been impugned from Mommsen onwards, they are rightly defended by M. Albertini. The boundaries of these provinces, however, were modified later by Augustus: in the end, between 7 and 3/2 B.C., the three difficult districts of the north-west and a disturbed strip of Baetica were put under the control of the governor of Hither Spain, in whose hands the military forces were concentrated.

On the provincial subdivisions M. Albertini has a new view, which seems sound. The doctrine of the 'dioceses' of Hither Spain (based on Strabo and current in some form since Mommsen) he casts aside, and holds that the districts in question did not co-exist with the *conventus*, but were replaced by them from Claudius' reign, when military considerations ceased to be dominant. In dealing with the *conventus*, he points out that they came to form real units, midway between province and *civitas*, through the permanence of the relations, judicial, economic, and religious, which they created. An interesting chapter discusses the relation between the Roman and the native divisions, and rejects, as a distortion of the facts, Mommsen's view that Rome pursued a deliberate policy of breaking up the Spanish cantons. Large, coherent cantons there never were in Spain: physical conditions stood in the way, favouring a local spirit and clan feeling (*gentilitas*). On the contrary, Rome gave to

the *regio*, and thereby to the *gens*, a real meaning and a practical importance they had never had, and overcame for a time the natural tendency that drives Spain to division and has made the unification of the country both slow and precarious. Altogether an interesting and lucid book.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

*Tacitus' Germania.* Erläutert von H. SCHWEIZER-SIDLER; erneuert von E. SCHWYZER. Eighth Edition. One vol. Large 8vo. Pp. xiv + 165, with six illustrations and a map. Halle (a.d. S.): Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1923. Grundpreis 4 marks.

PROFESSOR SCHWYZER has published a third edition of his valuable commentary on the *Germania*, which first appeared as a revision of the fifth issue of his great-uncle's edition, but has become substantially an independent work. The great merit of the earlier editions lay in the very full use that was made of the results of historical (including ethnological) and archaeological inquiry to explain and illustrate the statements of Tacitus. In the third edition the commentary and the second appendix have been expanded, and a third appendix has been added. The second appendix contains a detailed citation of the literature dealing with the many subjects raised by the *Germania*, and some critical discussions; the third collects and prints *in extenso* evidence from other ancient sources about Germany and the Germans. These changes enhance the value of a work which scholars have recognised as an indispensable aid to the study of Tacitus' monograph.

The commentary, if lengthy, is comprehensive. It is not only full on the historical side, but it also pays minute attention to the interpretation of the Latin, though usually without much (if any) argument and mostly without mention of other views. This is to be regretted, since the interpretations adopted do not always command assent. We may instance the following: c. 2 *fin.*, *a victore . . . a se ipsi . . . Germani vocarentur*, where *a* is explained 'von—aus,' 'mit Rücksicht auf,' and the whole interpretation is forced; c. 5 *init.*, *specie (differt)*, 'im einzelnen'; c. 11, *sic constituunt, sic condicunt*, 'erg. diem: constituere heisst "einen Termin festsetzen," condicere denselben "annehmen, zusagen"'; c. 30 *fin.*, *velocitas* ('der chattischen Reiterei'); c. 33 *fin.*, *quando urgentibus imperii fatis*, etc. = 'imperii fatis (Dat. zu *praestare*) quae id (imperium) iam urgent,' for which the only argument is that, if *urg. fatis* is taken as abl. abs., *imperii* instead of *imperium* is 'störend.' Two observations may be added on historical points: in the commentary on *vidimus sub divo Vesp. Veledam* (c. 8) we have no mention of the fact that the capture of the prophetess took place in A.D. 77-78 in the course of Rutilius Gallicus' campaign against the Bructeri, and in c. 29 we find that Tacitus' statement about the immigration of *levissimus quisque Gallorum* into the Agri Decumates is accepted without question.

The printing of the volume, no light task, is excellently done: misprints, such as *populus* for *populos* in the text of c. 1 and *la concretum* in c. 23, note, are rare. But the paper used is of an inferior quality.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

*Das Schicksal als poetische Idee bei Homer.* Von Dr. P. ENGELBERT EBERHARD (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, XIII. Band, 1. Heft). One vol. 8½" x 5½". Pp. 80. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1923.

THE author is a disciple of Roemer and Drerup, the leaders of that recent unitarian movement by which all seeming inconsistencies within the Homeric poems are imputed to the artistic needs of the poet. Many disharmonies may indeed be so resolved, and with his fellows Dr. Eberhard has done good service in revealing or emphasising the organic interdependence of various parts in each whole; but, with them also, he goes too far. Elements that seem incompatible in Homer's world may coexist in Homer's mind and art—to justify this position, the poet must be conceived as absolutely detached from not only the material conditions, but also the spiritual concepts of his age, able to archaïse as much in the attitude of his heroes towards life as in the fashion of their armour. Drerup maintains that the 'Götterapparat'—the word is significant: Roemer uses 'Göttermaschine'—of the epics serves primarily not religious but 'poetisch-technisch' ends. In the spirit of a twentieth-century sceptic, it seems, the poet employed now the religious notions current in his own age, now those of an age past, just as suited the particular incident of the plot. The fact that he had a high degree of material civilisation and probably an epic tradition behind him will not explain such detachment and freedom of treatment. Centuries later, when the Ionic spirit of criticism had run its course, the Attic tragedians scarcely went so far. More than this, such change and inconsistency within a work is simply bad art, above all when it is for the most part conscious, as its defenders imply. The suggestion is strange indeed, coming from the professedly 'aesthetic' champions of Homer.

The problem of Fate in the poems, its nature and relation to the gods, is well stated, and the various existing solutions are reviewed and rejected. Alike those who place *μοῖρα* above the gods and those who regard it as subordinate to, or identical with, the divine will, can be refuted by conflicting instances. The critics who, facing the difficulty, take the easy line of admitting manifold authorship and a developing concept, are ruled out by unitarian considerations. Dr. Eberhard's own solution is given by the title. Homer uses *μοῖρα* as 'poetische Idee.' It is a 'technisches Hilfsmittel,' representing the poet's plan of what is going to happen, or 'the poet's better knowledge' as opposed to that of his heroes. No hint is given, however, what the attitude of the latter inside the poems must be supposed to

be. When Zeus contemplates saving Hector, Athene reminds him that Hector is *πάλαι πεπρωμένον αἶσῃ* (II. XXII. 179), and he yields. Is she appealing to the poet's plan, and, though he might 'doom men to death to furnish theme for song in aftertime,' was Zeus here looking quite so far ahead? It is obvious indeed in the poems themselves, that there is a very real fatalism of some kind abroad. Naturally the course of the plot almost always coincides with *μοῖρα*, since *μοῖρα* is almost always fulfilled. It is this which gives the theory what verisimilitude it has. When, however, the poem alludes to incidents outside the plot, e.g. Achilles' fated early death, Dr. Eberhard shifts his ground; *μοῖρα* is no longer the poet's plan but the saga tradition, to which he must conform. Sarpedon's death, on the other hand, is, we are told, described as fated, because the poet's plan requires it to prepare the way for Hector's vengeance on Patroclus and the ensuing triumph of Achilles. Here he speaks as if the poet were constructing an ingenious fiction, instead of following a tradition where that was the natural and actual sequence. It is, however, where *μοῖρα* is not fulfilled that the theory most completely breaks down. In II. XVI. 780 *καὶ τότε δὴ β' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν Ἀχαιοὶ φέρεται ἦσαν*, we are told that *ὑπὲρ αἶσαν* means 'against the main line of the poet's plan,' yet this last means not the general issue, wherein also the Achaians were victorious, but the death of Patroclus which immediately follows. The still more difficult passage, *Od. I. 32-36*, is discreetly reserved to a discussion of Homer's own views on fate, which, it is naively suggested, sometimes creep in. Zeus says 'Ἀλγισθός ὑπὲρ μῦθον Ἄρπιδαι γῆμ' ἄλοχον μνηστῆν.' The poet's plan or tradition can have no part here, yet no adequate alternative is provided. These defects and inconsistencies show that Dr. Eberhard's theory is no better than its predecessors. There are some difficulties which even the vagaries of a poet in his art will not explain. Indeed, multiple authorship may be a simpler solution.

R. B. ONIANS.

and more formal kinds, and in the present collection, as in others, tax-receipts figure largely. But if such texts are unattractive to others than specialists, they are often of great value for economic history, besides containing much incidental evidence on nomenclature, chronology, etc., and this volume makes welcome additions to our material. It is true that for handy use a commentary is required, and the commentary on these texts (except for notes on readings) is reserved for a further volume, which is only too likely to be delayed; but the evidence itself is here and can be extracted by the student, the more easily because there are excellent indexes. Of the quality of the editorial work it is hardly necessary to speak to those who know Professor Viereck's publications.

In the matter of general interest the later sections are superior to the first, which contains tax-receipts, arranged according to their formulae. Among these later sections D (accounts) is specially worthy of mention. It contains some good metrological material, several new or unusual words, and an interesting series of agricultural accounts. Section E (miscellaneous) includes one or two good letters, two theological and two astrological texts, and a few other documents of some value.

It is much to be hoped that the commentary, which Viereck is so well qualified to write, will follow speedily. In the meantime we must be grateful for the careful and laborious work which has gone to the production of this volume. There are a certain number of misprints, in part corrected in the Addenda. In 100. 1 should *Αμ* really be *λα[οργ(αφίας)]* (*ὑπὲρ* omitted)? For *Παμώθης* = *Παμώνθης* as Spiegelberg suggests (102. 1) reference might be made to the variants *Κωσταντίος*, *Κώστανς* for *Κωνσ.* in later times. In 512. 5 the occurrence of *modii* suggests grain; qu. *κριθῶν*? In 516. 4 is *ἐκσκέπτου* possible? In 795. 5 *τρεμίσιν* = *τριμήσιον* (*tremissis*) seems highly probable (P. M. Meyer, less plausibly, suggests *trimesem*.)

H. I. BELL.

*Griechische und Griechisch-Demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass.* Herausgegeben von PAUL VIERECK. Mit Beiträgen von WILHELM SPIEGELBERG. Band I.: Texte. Octavo. Pp. xv + 356. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923.

THE production of this volume has been attended by some difficulties. It was commenced before the war, but was delayed by that event, and the loss of Strassburg has prevented the verification of many subsequent conjectures, such as always suggest themselves to an editor of texts like these. But Viereck is a good decipherer, and though there are not a few passages where further revision might prove fruitful, the texts in general can no doubt be relied on.

Ostraca are as a rule more informative than interesting; for the scanty space available restricted their use to documents of the briefer

*Three Measures of Meal.* By FRANK G. VIAL, B.D., Professor of Pastoral Theology, Lennoxville, Canada. London: Oxford University Press, 1923. 10s. 6d.

THIS book applies the Parable of the Leaven to the early Christian centuries, the leaven representing Christ, 'the vital force,' the three measures of meal representing the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman constituents, which, by the vital force, were transformed into the vigorous church which created the Christian world. The writer recognises that each of these three constituents modified the Christian message in some degree, but he regards the transformation of the three types of meal by the vital force as being of infinitely more significance than any debilitating influence they may have exercised. The materials laid before us by the writer are not new but drawn from the great works of classical and Christian scholarship; yet the viewing of these masses of carefully

selected facts as preparation for the vital force or as results of its action is illuminating and very impressive. The volume is thus of real practical value, even if some of its contentions should finally prove untenable.

The study of the religious genius of Israel and of the forces which prepared the people for the Leaven during the three foregoing centuries is vivid and convincing. The Synagogue, Pharisaism, Apocalyptic, on the one hand, and Hellenism, the Septuagint and the Wisdom Literature, on the other, are each shown in their direct action on the religious mind created by the Law and the Prophets.

The presentation of the Greek constituent is the section which captures the reader most forcibly. It closes with a striking study of Paul, fundamentally Semitic, yet sufficiently Hellenised to become, when completely leavened, the bridge between the Hebrew Church and the rest of the world.

The Roman section is less convincing and would leave us cold, were it not for the writer's intense interest in worship, organisation and discipline.

The book necessarily suggests at many points the question how the theory of the supreme potency and spiritual value of the Vital Force would emerge from a sympathetic comparison of this Christian history with the growth and spread of Buddhism, on the one hand, and of Islam, on the other.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

*Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm.* By G. H. HALLAM. Pp. 24; 11 illustrations and two maps. Harrow School Bookshop, J. F. Moore, 1923.

IN December 1922 Mr. Hallam gave a lecture with lantern slides in London on 'Horace and his two homes in the Sabines and at Tibur.' This lecture was given again in April 1923 at Tivoli without lantern slides, and therefore with some necessary modifications. His little book, *Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm*, contains this modified lecture, together with several illustrations and two useful maps. In his preface Mr. Hallam tells us that his set of lantern slides, with his lecture or 'talk' descriptive of them, was one of the first to be prepared for a series of lantern lectures on Classical subjects to boys and girls of Secondary Schools, a scheme which has the warm support both of the Hellenic and of the Roman Society.

No pioneer could have led the way with greater success than Mr. Hallam. If his subject is fascinating in itself, its fascination grows still more irresistible in his skilful hands. As full of lore as any Sibyl he guides us through the scenes in which Horace used to delight. A brief introduction to Horace's early life, and we are led up the Vale of Digentia to meet the poet himself, *corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum*, on his farm near the Fountain of Bandusia and the Temple of Vacuna. A short rest while we listen to a rapid review of Horace's writings (and to bridge over the passing years), and now we go downstream to Tibur, 'where

Anio leaps in foam,' with its memories of 'resounding Albunea' and the Grove of Tiburnus—it should be said, in passing, that Mr. Hallam makes out a strong case for locating the site of Horace's villa at Tibur within the walls of the old monastery of S. Antonio. At both places we visit the poet's favourite haunts with him, and we bask in the sunshine of his genial company and of the Sabine landscape, so vividly transmitted by the beautiful illustrations.

All too soon we wake from this happy dream.

Every boy and girl reading Latin at school will long to own this little book to help to call back delightful memories of Mr. Hallam's 'talk,' which of course they will all have already listened to, revelling in his pictures.

For the guidance of those teachers who wish to avail themselves of this lecture or of others in the series, we would add that their 'distribution is undertaken by the combined Hellenic and Roman Societies from their office at 19, Bloomsbury Square, London, and members of either Society may use them or allow them to be used by others on payment of a small fee.

G. E. K. BRAUNHOLTZ.

*Saggi Glottologici. Contributo allo studio del latino arcaico* (Biblioteca di MOYSEION, vol. iv.). By ENRICO COCCHIA. One vol. Pp. vii+364. Napoli: Rondinella e Loffredo, 1924 (but actually published at the end of 1923). Lire 35.00.

IN this volume the Professor of Latin Literature in the University of Naples, whose industry is demonstrated by the number and bulk of his published works, has brought together a number of his occasional papers, many of them studies in Latin phonology and etymology, though some deal with Greek, and others with literary rather than linguistic subjects; finally, a few old reviews of books (even of elementary school books) are thrown in to fill up at the end. The earliest paper is dated 1881, the latest 1923; apparently all have been published before, and they are now reprinted without alteration. A judicious selection, and a rigorous revision, were both of them essential, but have not been made; the result was inevitable. It was not worth while, even in a country where printing is cheap, to reprint unrevised an essay, written more than forty years ago, on the assimilation of dentals to -ss- (-s-) in Latin, to which everyone is duly directed by the reference in Stolz, but which no one wants to read nowadays. And what is gained by reprinting in 1923 an essay first published in 1923?

It is difficult to estimate the good and bad in such a *farrago* as this. But since the author seems to regard his volume as mainly a contribution to the study of Old Latin, I may not unfairly take the same view and confine myself to those parts of it which do not bewray its title. Here and there is a flash of light. Thus, the Venetic gloss *ceuae*: 'uaccae Altinae (humilis staturae)' from Columella 6.24.5, where the editors have generally altered *Altinae* to *Alpinae*, is vindicated (p. 169) by a comparison with modern Venetian (Cocchia means *Venesia*, though he prints *Veneria*) of Venezia Veneta

and Venezia Tridentina *il ceo, la cea* meaning 'piccolo, piccola.' But such flashes are rare. No one can follow Cocchia through the black darkness of the article in which he seeks to show that final -s in Latin now and again ('questi fenomeni della vocalizzazione di una consonante son sempre sporadici' are his very words, p. 40) turned into -i, e.g., he argues, in the genitive singular of o-stems. Nearly all the linguistic papers show the same lack of strict scientific method. Does Professor Cocchia imagine that anyone besides himself seriously rejects the overwhelming evidence from the dialects (this he simply ignores) as well as from Latin itself, which proves, beyond doubt, the existence of a universal first-syllable accent in pro-ethnic Italic? To enumerate all the old-fashioned, long since out-of-date views of Professor Cocchia would fill pages.

I have noted a curious slip: on p. 187 Matthew Arnold's 'On Translating Homer' is described as 'la traduzione inglese di Omero curata da Mattia Arnold.' And misprints are very numerous. There is an index, incomplete, and not always accurate, of words and subjects; but for its shortcomings Professor Cocchia is not himself directly responsible.

J. WHATMOUGH.

- (1) *The Solution of the Homeric Question.* The original *Iliad* and its successive expansions as determined by upwards of 3,000 repeated and adapted lines and half-lines together with inter-borrowings with the *Odyssey*. By ROBINSON SMITH. Pp. 22. London: Grafton and Co., 1923. 2s.
- (2) *Epilegomena ad Homerum*, sive observationes ad elocutionem et compositionem Iliadis et ad Quaestionem Homericam, script JULIUS GYOMLAY. Pp. 64. Budapest, 1923.

THE subtitle of the first book shows what its author claims to have done and how. The method is far from new, but no reference is made to the copious literature of the subject, and the only commentator quoted is Leaf, who is allowed to be 'usually right.' We are to accept the author's decisions in the 3,000 instances. But experience of the excesses of the monstrous regiment of German Repetition-Mongers has taught us to be wary. The method has never given any results, for there is wide scope for difference of opinion. That will be clear to anyone who examines a batch of instances on page 3 of the present pamphlet, in which borrowing or imitation is argued from 'some mistake in grammatical construction.' It would be a waste of time and space to expose them in detail. The chief aids invoked are the digamma and hiatus. The neglects of *F* in the Original *Iliad* are easily disposed of; given the same licence, will there be any difficulty in purging the rest of the poem? There are authorities who have held that *F* is useless as a test, and surely, before any result can be expected, the difference between the two extreme digamma schools must be composed. Exactly the same may be said of hiatus, for which Brugmann's work noticed in *C.Q.* XVII. 13 may be referred to, and I find reason to doubt

whether the author of the present pamphlet is clear as to *hiatus illicitus*. 'The solution' of the great Question has still to be discovered.

The author of the second work has been a student of Homer for forty years, and presents it as an epilogue to his previous studies. He is a sturdy opponent of unity, and in a certain amount of agreement with Wilamowitz, Bethe, and Mûlder. There was an original poem on the Wrath, which has been expanded into our *Iliad*, generally by inferior hands. The indications of this are provided by the *elocutio*, taking the word in a wide sense, and by the *inventio et compositio*. He discusses the Repetitions, the Speeches, and the Similes, and other features, and suggests the necessity for fresh enumerations. To the Speeches he seems to attach an exaggerated importance. That they are worthy of close study, especially in regard to the differences between them and Narrative, is certain, but that a comparison of them *inter se* with reference to the *fontes psychologici* will produce any result of value may well be doubted. It is admitted that it is very difficult to draw conclusions from the *propria elocutionis* alone. The structure must also be examined, and an analysis discloses discrepancies which are to Dr. Gyomlay's mind fatal to unity. The more it is examined, the more *artificiosa et tortuosa* the construction appears. To take one example, he cannot ascribe to the author of the original poem the introduction of the 'gods of comedy'—*totum fere deorum illum gregem*. He can admire the nod of Zeus, but to combine it with a description of the lord of Olympus in terror of his spouse, and for that reason dismissing the suppliant Thetis, makes a very silly picture. And yet Achæan hearers might, it may be suggested, approve even as modern readers enjoy. Other *Unebenheiten*, mostly standing difficulties, are referred to, but cannot be discussed here. I will only note that the case is stated with confidence, but also, as Dr. Gyomlay claims, *sine ira et studio*. It is doubtless our misfortune that his earlier work is not well known in this country.

A. SHEWAN.

*Roman Home Life and Religion.* A Reader, by H. L. ROGERS and T. R. HARLEY. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. 6s. net.

THE idea of this selection is very happy. The student needs to be reminded that the Romans were something besides politicians, lawyers, and soldiers, and it would be hard to find a better way of showing him this than the present work provides. It is divided into ten parts: love of home, the Roman house, birthday ceremonies, childhood, amusements and pets, work, marriage, meals, illness and death, religion. Under each of these headings there is a number of extracts, for the most part in the original Latin, but in certain cases in an English translation. At the end is a body of short but useful notes. Among the English parts are a few translations from Plutarch: the Latin authors represented, either in the original or in translation, are Plautus, Cicero, Lucretius, Catullus, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid,



Livy, Phaedrus, Seneca, Petronius, Pliny the Younger, Martial, Juvenal, Tacitus, Suetonius, Gellius, the Vulgate, Augustine, with one or two notable inscriptions. The volume has already been prescribed for a large class in one of our universities. A. SOUTER.

*Étude sur 'tamen,' conjonction adversative, et son passage au sens causal, avec remarques comparatives sur les particules 'sed, autem, nam, enim': thèse . . . de l'Université de Lausanne.* Par JACQUELINE DE LA HARPE. 1923.

THIS thesis is a neat piece of work of over a hundred pages. The writer knows the newer works on Latin grammar, and furnishes a considerable bibliography. She does not attempt the impossible task of reviewing the whole of Latin literature, but starting with the republican period, she illustrates the uses of *tamen* by carefully selected examples: the causal *tamen* appears here and there in Cicero's letters, Petronius, and Tacitus' *Dialogus*, but is entirely absent from the main stream of correct Latin. The analysis of the examples of causal *tamen* is admirable, and a good illustration of the psychological treatment of syntactical points, which is being increasingly employed. Among the later writers the author refers particularly to Sulpicius Severus. As the title of the thesis indicates, the same sort of treatment is extended to certain other particles. The writer, probably through inexperience, seems to cast doubt on the possibility of confusion between *autem* and *enim* as the result of wrong resolution of the insular abbreviation symbols. A. SOUTER.

*M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia. Fasc. i: Incerti Auctoris De Ratione Dicendi ad C. Herennium lib. iv. iterum recensuit F. MARX.* Lipsiae: Teubner, 1923. 3 shillings.

MARX'S large edition of the *Ad Herennium*, which appeared as long ago as 1894, did much to establish a reputation which has since been enhanced by the well-known editions of Filaster, Lucilius, and Celsus. A very hearty welcome should be extended to this second edition, which appears in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, and is intended to replace Friedrich's text in that series. The interesting and up-to-date preface contains the usual account of the interrelation of manuscripts, and also a most interesting list of the abbreviations that appear in the manuscripts. The only criticism which one feels inclined to offer refers to the orthography. It is as certain as anything can be that the writer of the *Ad Herennium* used the older type of orthography. The editor rightly therefore reads, for example, *quor* (III. 23, § 38, p. 103, l. 4), but in many other places where the author must have used ancient forms Marx does not risk printing them (for example, he gives *alicuius*, not *aliquoius*, at IV. 5, § 8, p. 112, l. 21). No classical scholar should be without this book, and perhaps some young student will take up the task of writing an explanatory commentary on the *Ad Herennium*.

A. SOUTER.

*Cornélius Népos, Oeuvres: texte établi et traduit par Anne-Marie Guillemin.* Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. 16 francs.

AS the oldest surviving manuscript of Nepos, the Gudianus of Wolfenbüttel, is no older than the end of the twelfth century, there will probably be room for many recensions of the text in time to come, but Mdle. Guillemin has taken much trouble in the preparation of hers. She has, for instance, examined the Paris manuscripts and compiled a substantial critical apparatus; she has also consulted M. Louis Havet, M. Émile Chatelain, and M. Henri Goelzer. The edition, well printed on good paper, is, in consequence, doubtless the best critical edition of the author in existence; the commentary of A. van Staveren, ed. alt. (Lugd. Bat. 1773) retains its value. A. SOUTER.

*Studia Ammianea: Dissertatio Inauguralis: scripsit HARALD HAGENDAHL.* Uppsala, 1921. 7½ Swedish kr.

THE publication of Professor C. U. Clark's epoch-making edition of Ammianus (Berlin, 1910-1913) will naturally lead to many investigations. Among these, lexicographical and syntactical work is urgently needed. Dr. Hagendahl's work is most scholarly and useful. The topics which he discusses are these: Ammian as an imitator of Virgil, his use of poetic words, the 'poetic' plural, and numerous other lexical and syntactical peculiarities. All these topics are illustrated by copious references to works enumerated in the excellent and comprehensive bibliography which introduces the work. Statius (*Silvae* ii. 4, 30) might be added to the authorities for *querulus* (p. 45), and it might have been mentioned that metrical considerations dictated the use of *pocula* (p. 91) and *proelia* (p. 94) instead of the singular. Attention may be called to Hagendahl's (German) article 'Zu Ammianus Marcellinus' in *Strena Philologica Upsaliensis* (1922).

A. SOUTER.

*Auswahl aus den Werken des Gregor von Tours.* Herausgegeben von H. MORFF. Heidelberg, Winter, 1922. 1s. 4d.

THIS volume constitutes the sixth part of the useful series *Sammlung vulgärlateinischer Texte*. Copies of the collected works of Gregory of Tours are rather expensive, and it was a happy idea to include this admirable selection in a series that already comprises Petronius, Aethria, and other writers. The editor very properly takes his text of the *Historia Francorum* from the beautiful edition of Omont and Collon (Paris, 1913). The student of Gregory will naturally employ the well-known monograph of Max Bonnet on the language, and the German translation of Siegmund Hellmann (3 vols., Leipzig, 1911-1913) for light on the subject-matter.

A. SOUTER.

*Julian of Toledo 'De Vitiis et Figuris'* [St. Andrews University Publications, No. XV.]. By Professor W. M. LINDSAY. London: Milford, 1922. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS, the first critical edition of Julian's booklet, is a companion to much of the recent work of Lindsay and his school. Four MSS. (not counting the *Liber Glossarum*) are used as the basis of the text. Julian's work is mostly based on earlier writings still extant, but the manuscripts are interesting as furnishing clear proof that a Spanish archetype lies behind them. A neat piece of work with a useful index.

A. SOUTER.

*Francisci Petrarchae Epistolae Selectae.* Edidit A. F. JOHNSON, B.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Pp. x+276. 8s. 6d. net.

THE encouragement given to the publication of Mr. P. S. Allen's *Selections from Erasmus* may have influenced the Oxford Press to publish the present (considerably larger) volume of selected epistles of Petrarch. In any case the volume is very welcome, whether the reader's chief interest be in Petrarch as a classical scholar, or not. The letters are preceded by a chronological summary, and followed by a body of useful (and necessary) notes, a good bibliography, and an index. The editor is thoroughly competent for his task, and has produced a charming volume. The exact reference to Augustine, *Confessions*, namely, x. 8, § 15, might have been given on p. 17. l. 132. On p. 27 does not *Claravallensibus* refer to Cistercians rather than Benedictines? On p. 217 'Achilles' should be 'Achillas,' and it might have been stated that the reference is to the period of Pompey's death (48 B.C.)

A. SOUTER.

*Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses.* By FREDERIK POULSEN. Translated by Rev. G. C. RICHARDS, Fellow of Oriol College, Oxford. One vol. Pp. 112. 112 plates, 57 figures. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1923. £4 4s. net.

FORTY years ago Michaelis, in his *Ancient Marbles*, enumerated most of the portraits (except those at Sion House) here recorded; but archaeology has advanced far in that interval, unillustrated descriptions are of little use, and it was time the ground was resurveyed. Dr. Poulsen's book contains 112 selected portraits from nine different collections, including (in defiance of the title) Lansdowne House and the Soane Museum. All are of Roman workmanship, though a score are copies of Greek originals; all, except the fine bust of Thucydides at Holkham, are unfamiliar; and even the Thucydides is here for the first time adequately published. Dr. Poulsen has therefore done us a great service, for in his scholarly descriptions and excellent half-tone plates a large mass of unknown material becomes available for study. Not all of it is of equal importance, but it includes some interesting portraits of known persons, the general artistic level is respectable, and there are some few outstanding pieces. It is much to be hoped that more

archaeologists will follow Dr. Poulsen's example and publish other sections of the important antiquities which remain more or less inaccessible in English private collections.

The book is finely and accurately produced, as indeed we are entitled to expect both of the press and of the price; but a Greek quotation on p. 83 has gone astray.

A. S. F. GOW.

*Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy.* By G. P. CONGER. Pp. xviii + 146. New York: Columbia University Press; Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922. Cloth. 10s. 6d.

THIS volume reviews 'theories,' from Thales to the present day, that 'portions of the world which vary in size exhibit similarities in structures and processes, indicating that one portion imitates another or others on a different scale.' Chapter I. is devoted to the 'emergence' of such theories in the Greek and Graeco-Roman world. The author declines to reconstruct any of the pre-Socratic systems, confining himself to quotable fragments of testimonies which appear to imply views of this kind. The danger of this method is that the impression may be conveyed that the macro-microcosmic analogy is a 'theory' which gradually gains ground, whereas it is rather an unquestioned assumption of mythical and semi-mythical thought which survives in philosophy, and is not in the early stages an object of explicit reflection. Its influence is most pervasive when it is least talked about. Some omissions may be noted. The Hippocratic Corpus, which the author seems to know only from Gomperz' *Greek Thinkers*, receives meagre treatment. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 270 c, is not quoted. Empedocles' doctrine that Love in the universe is the same as love in living creatures might be mentioned. A few translations are misleading—e.g., 'enthusiasms' for τὸ θυμωδὲς in Plato (p. 7); 'finite' and 'infinite' for πεπας and ἀπειρον in the *Philebus*. There is too much reliance on secondary authorities. Citations in the form 'According to Berthelot, Olympiodorus says' . . . might be avoided by reference to Olympiodorus' text.

The author has shown great industry in collecting a mass of material which will be useful to students of the survival of mythical conceptions in philosophy and science.

F. M. CORNFORD.

*Manuel de Linguistique grecque.* By ALBERT CARNOY, Professor à l'Université de Louvain. Pp. 426. Louvain (Éditions Universitaires) and Paris (Champion), 1924.

THE scope of this book is very wide: it includes not only a treatment of Greek phonology, morphology, and syntax from the standpoint of Indo-European Comparative Philology, but a chapter entitled *Notions de Stylistique grecque*, resembling one of those manuals of Greek prose composition published in England which the author in his preface dismisses as insufficient for his purpose. The book teems not only with misprints, but with other errors (especially in

the phonology and morphology) for which the printer cannot be blamed. It is asserted, for instance, that 'Ion. *πράσσω*' comes from *πράγ-ω* (p. 21), that *νν* from *νF* is reduced in Attic to *ν* with compensatory lengthening (*ibid.*), that *φρήνες* (*sic*) like *\*Ἕλληνες* and *Οὐρανίωνες* retains the long vowel in its declension (p. 99), that *ῥίσσι* comes from *Fidari* (p. 140), that *τίνω* is related to Sanskrit *cinomi* 'je perçois,' that Messen. *γράφηντι* corresponds to Att. *γράφωσι* (p. 208, the fact being that Messen. *προγραφηντι* [accent unknown] corresponds to Att. *προγραφῶσι*); and on p. 155 the form *\*δέδφοια* is reconstructed without any mention of *δεῖδω*, so little has Mahlow's reasoning been taken to heart. Sanskrit words are transcribed on two different principles: on the one hand we have *shash*, *teshām*, *lashati*, on the other, *esi*, *seṣe*, *dvēsmi*; even the close proximity of *duis* and *trish* on p. 121 does not trouble Professor Carnoy. The Avestan transcriptions are no

better: *khshwash* (p. 117) but *fra-xšnt* (p. 211). These and other errors betray such a degree of unfamiliarity with the subject as to deprive the book of any just claim to take its place by the side of the well-known works on which it is based.

RODERICK MCKENZIE.

*Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae.* T. HOPFNER. Pars III. Pp. 275 to 475. Bonn: Marcus u. Weber, 1923. \$1.45.

PART III. of this work contains authors from Clement of Rome to Porphyry, thus bringing us down to the opening of the fourth century A.D. In arrangement and appearance it fully maintains the standard set in the two previous volumes. Part IV., which is now promised almost immediately, will complete the work, and will contain name, place, and subject indices to the whole.

T. E. PEET.

## OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S REPORT.

ON November 23, 1923, three papers were read by Mr. Frank Carter. The first, entitled 'A Problem in the Roman Calendar,' dealt with the date of the Ides. Mr. Carter tried to show that (1) the Calends (Greek *νομήνια*) represent the day following the first visibility of the new moon, the latter averaging about 41 hours after the astronomical new moon; (2) the 13th day from this (the 12th by our method of reckoning) will then represent accurately the date of the full moon; (3) the fact that the Ides in March, May, July, October fall on the 13th is due to the fact that these were, in the Pre-Julian Calendar, the only 31-day months, the others, with the exception of February, being 29—the habit of regarding the Ides as 18 days (by Roman reckoning) back from the next Calends had already become standardised.

Mr. Carter's second paper compared Thuc.

III. 30. 3 with Cicero *Ad Att.* V. 20. 3. The passage in Cicero, no less than the accurate translation of the Thucydidean text, especially in view of the prefix in *ἐνοπῶν*, shows (1) that the reading *κενόν* is necessarily right, as against the alternative *καινόν*; (2) that the phrase (*cf.* also Arist. *Eth. Nic.* III. 8. 6) was a proverbial one; (3) that the probable meaning is 'folly,' as in Pind. *Ol.* 3. 81, and Cic. *Ad Att.* VI. 9. 2.

The third paper dealt with Vergil's 'urbe Mycenae' (*Aen.* V. 52). The passage does not mean 'the city of Mycenae,' but 'Mycene's city,' Mycene being the eponymous nymph. So also 'amnis Eridani' (*Aen.* VI. 659), 'mare Hadriae' (Propertius 1. 61) and others. Is not, in fact, the 'Genitive of Equivalence' a grammatical myth? Does not 'vox voluptatis' mean not 'the word voluptas,' but 'pleasure's name,' which is, of course, 'voluptas'—and so with other alleged instances?

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

### CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).

(1924.)

HISTORY.—May 19. B. W. Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* [London, Methuen, 1923] (W. D. Gray). 'A distinct advance on his only predecessor': but G. severely criticises H. for omissions and for failure to use much new material.

LITERATURE.—March 24. E. S. Hoernle, *The Problem of the Agamemnon* [Oxford, Blackwell, 1921] (A. E. Phoutrides). P. contributes useful observations on the visibility of distant fire-signals.—April 7. E. S. Hoernle, *Notes on the Text of Aeschylus* [Oxford,

Blackwell, 1921] (A. E. Phoutrides). 'An invaluable contribution towards a true text.' P. analyses H.'s methods.—L. V. Jacks, *St. Basil and Greek Literature* [Washington, D. C., 1922] (T. C. Burgess). Praised: the first volume of a series of patristic studies to be issued by the Catholic University of America.—April 28. M. Rothstein, *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius: I. Teil* [Berlin, Weidmann, 1920] (A. L. Wheeler). This second edition is a great improvement on the first (1898). W. discusses at length many points in R.'s introduction.—May 5. J. C. Austin, *The Significant Name in Terence* [University of Illinois Press, 1922] (F. G. Ballentine.) Not praised.

RELIGION.—May 19. R. M. Peterson, *Cults of Campania* [American Academy in Rome, 1919]. Lily R. Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria* [American Academy in Rome, 1923] (J. W. Hewitt). Both works are praised as good collections of material, with judicious conclusions.

[The issues of April 21 and May 12 contain lists of articles on classical subjects in non-classical periodicals.]

**NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLASSISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC.**

(LIII./LIV. 2, 3, 1924.)

2. U. Kahrstedt, *Griechisches Staatsrecht. I. Bd. Sparta und seine Symmachie* [Göttingen, 1922] (W. Judeich). Limited in range and excessively juristic. The novelties are mostly disputable; for instance, the view that the Helots were pure Dorians. The book has value, but is too subjective, and rests on shaky foundations.—K. Kunst, *Die Frauengestalten im Attischen Drama* [Vienna and Leipzig, 1922] (J. Geffcken). Excellent on Euripides, much less good on Aeschylus,

Sophocles, and Aristophanes. Tends to modernise.—E. Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* [Munich, 1922] (G. Weicker). Highly praised. Occasional archaism, from religious motives, appears in art even in the early fifth century, especially in Alcámenes; but, as a consistent artistic method, it first appears in the first quarter of the fourth, both in sculpture and on the Panathenaic amphorae. Crude combinations of archaistic heads with realistic bodies, etc., are Roman only.—V. Gardthausen, *Die Alexandrinische Bibliothek, ihr Vorbild, Katalog, Betrieb* [Leipzig, 1922] (E. Bethe). Excellent.—3. V. Coulon and H. van Daele, *Aristophane, Tome I. (Les Acharniens, Les Cavaliers, Les Nudes) texte établi par V. Coulon et traduit par H. van Daele* [Paris, 1923] (A. Körte). The best available text, but seriously defective as a critical edition. The chief MSS. are neither fully nor quite accurately quoted. The translation is good, but French cannot do justice to Aristophanes' language.—W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum . . . nunc tertium edita. Vol. IV., fasc. II.* [Leipzig, 1924] (A. Körte). This fascicule, by H. v. Gaertringen, completes the Index. Altogether admirable.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

\*.\* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

*A Classified Catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets and Maps in the Library of the Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and Roman Studies.* Pp. xv+336. London: Macmillan, 1924. Boards, 15s. net.

Allen (P. S. et H. M.) *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum.* Tom. V. 1522-1524. Pp. xxiii+631. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 28s. net.

Barry (M. I.) *St. Augustine, the Orator. A study of the rhetorical qualities of St. A.'s Sermones ad Populum.* (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. VI.) Pp. xi+263. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1924. Paper.

Bell (H. I.) *Jews and Christians in Egypt. The Jewish troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian controversy illustrated by texts from Greek papyri in the British Museum.* Edited by H. I. B., with three Coptic texts edited by W. E. Crum. Pp. xii+140; 5 plates. London: British Museum, etc., 1924. Cloth.

Bréhier (E.) *Plotin: Ennéades. I. Texte établi et traduit par E. B.* Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1924. Paper.

Brenot (A.) *Phèdre: Fables. Texte établi et*

traduit par A. B. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1924. Paper.

*Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé.* No. 3, Avril, 1924; No. 4, Juillet, 1924.

Burnet (J.) *Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates, and Crito.* Edited with notes. Pp. vii+298. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.

Campbell (A. Y.) *Horace: a new interpretation.* Pp. xii+303. London: Methuen, 1924. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

Campbell (J. M.) *The influence of the Second Sophistic on the style of the sermons of St. Basil the Great.* (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. II.) Pp. xvi+156. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1922. Paper.

Chase (G. H.) *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections.* Pp. xv+222; 262 illustrations. Cambridge (U.S.A.): Harvard University Press (London: Milford), 1924. Cloth and boards, 31s. 6d. net.

*Classical Philology*, Vol. XIX., No. 1, January, 1924; No. 2, April, 1924.

Cocchia (E.) *La Letteratura latina anteriore all'influenza ellenica. Part I.* Pp. x+265. Naples: Rondinella and Loffredo, 1924. Paper, L. 12.

- Colson* (F. H.) *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Liber I.* Edited, with Introduction and Commentary, by F. H. C. Pp. xcvi + 208. Cambridge: University Press, 1924. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Cookson* (G. M.) *Aeschylus: Agamemnon, Choephoroe, Eumenides*, rendered into English verse. Pp. 160. London: Chapman and Hall, 1924. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Cooper* (L.) *An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy*, with an adaptation of the Poetics, and a translation of the 'Tractatus Coislinianus.' Pp. xxi + 323. Oxford: Blackwell, 1924. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum.* Supplementi Fasc. I.: Libri lintei Etrusci fragmenta Zagrabienisia, adiuvante O. A. Danielsson edidit G. Herbig. Pp. 33, 12 plates. Vol. II., sect. 1, fasc. 2 (tit. 5211-5326), cur. O. A. D. Pp. 105 to 182. Leipzig: Barth, 1919-21 and 1923. Paper (in cardboard portfolios), 12s. and 20s.
- Cuntliffe* (R. J.) *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect.* Pp. ix + 445. London: Blackie, 1924. Cloth, 30s. net.
- De Falco* (V.) *Sull' Idillio Decimo di Teocrito.* Pp. 18. Naples: F. Sangiovanni, 1923. Paper.
- Dennistoun* (J. D.) *Greek Literary Criticism. (The Library of Greek Thought.)* Pp. xli + 224. London and Toronto: Dent, 1924. Cloth, 5s. net.
- De Villiers* (M.) *The Numeral-Words. Their origin, meaning, history, and lesson.* Pp. 124. London: H. F. and G. Witherby; Cape Town, etc.: Juta and Co., 1923.
- Diehl* (E.) *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres.* Fasc. I. Pp. 80. Berlin: Weidmann, 1924. Paper, 3.75 Marks.
- ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ. 'Αθήναι, 15 Μαρτίου, 1924.
- Dunlap* (J. E.) *The Office of the Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XIV.)* Pp. viii + 165-324. New York: The Macmillan Co. (London: Macmillan), 1924. Paper, \$1 net.
- Elderkin* (G. W.) *Kantharos. Studies in Dionysiac and kindred cult.* Pp. 241; 10 plates. Princeton: University Press (London: Milford), 1924. Cloth, 52s. 6d. net.
- Fell* (R. A. L.) *Etruria and Rome.* Pp. vii + 182. Cambridge: University Press, 1924. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Ford* (H. G.) *Latin Unseen Traps. A list of Latin words easily confused.* Pp. 30. London: Methuen, 1924.
- Gercke* (A.) and *Norden* (E.) *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft. I. Band. 3. Heft: Griechische Literatur, von E. Bethe und M. Pohlenz, pp. 199. 4. Heft: Römische Literatur, von E. Norden, pp. 118. 5. Heft: Christliche Literatur, von H. Lietzmann, pp. 36. 6. Heft: Sprache, von P. Kretschmer, pp. 121. 7. Heft: Griechische Metrik, von P. Maas, pp. 32. 8. Heft: Römische Metrik, von Fr. Vollmer, pp. 26.*
9. Heft: *Griechische Epigraphik, von F. Hiller von Gaertringen; Papyruskunde, von W. Schubart; Griechische Palaeographie, von P. Maas, pp. 81. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1924. Kartonnirt, 6.40, 3, 1.20, 3.20, 0.80, 0.80, 2.80 goldmarks.*
- Giannelli* (G.) *Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia.* Pp. xiii + 360. Florence: Bemporad, 1924. Paper. Price in Florence 48 lire.
- Hallard* (J. H.) *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus translated into English verse, with an introduction on Greek bucolic poetry.* Pp. xvi + 220. (Broadway Translations.) London: Routledge; New York: Dutton. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Hardy* (E. G.) *Some Problems in Roman History. Ten essays bearing on the administrative and legislative work of Julius Caesar.* Pp. xi + 330. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 18s. net.
- Hardy* (E. G.) *The Catilinarian Conspiracy in its Context: a re-study of the evidence.* Pp. 115. Oxford: Blackwell, 1924. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Harrington* (K. P.) *Catullus and his Influence.* Pp. ix + 245. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) London, etc.: Harrap, 1924. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Haverfield* (F.) *The Roman Occupation of Britain, being six Ford Lectures delivered by F. H., now revised by G. Macdonald. With a notice of H.'s life and a list of his writings.* Pp. 304. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 18s. net.
- Heikel* (I. A.) *Griechische Inschriften sprachlich erklärt.* Pp. viii + 120. Helsingfors: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1924. Paper, \$0.50.
- Hoffner* (T.) *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae, collegit T. H. Pars III. auctores a Clemente Romano usque ad Porphyrium continens.* Pp. 275 to 475. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1923. Paper.
- Hoppin* (J. C.) *A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases, with a chapter on Red-figured Southern Italian vases.* Pp. xxiii + 509, 133 planches, 217 figures. Paris: Champion, 1924. Cloth, 200 fr.
- Irvine* (A. L.) *The Loves of Dido and Aeneas, being the Fourth Book of Aeneid, translated into English verse by Richard Fanshawe. Edited, with notes, by A. L. I. Pp. 131. Oxford: Blackwell, 1924. Cloth, 6s. net.*
- Jackson* (J.) *Hannibal's Invasion of Italy, being Livy, Books XXI. and XXII., partly in the original and partly in translation, edited by J. J. Pp. 180. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.*
- Jacoby* (F.) *Die griechische Moderne.* Pp. 24. Berlin: Weidmann, 1924. Paper, 0.80 M.
- James* (H. R.) *Our Hellenic Heritage. Vol. II., Part IV. The Abiding Splendour.* Pp. xv + 274-527. Maps and Illustrations. London: Macmillan, 1924. Cloth, 4s.

- Jespersen (O.)** The Philosophy of Grammar. Pp. 359. London: Allen and Unwin, 1924. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Jebb-Duval (E.)** Les Morts Malfaisants: 'Larvae, Lemures' d'après le droit et les croyances populaires des Romains. Pp. xi + 334. Paris: Librairie de la S.A. du Recueil Sirey, 1924. Paper, 25 fr.
- Kent (R.)** Language and Philology. Pp. vii + 174. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) London, etc.: Harrap, 1924. Cloth, 5s. net.
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# The Classical Review

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1924

## EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

THANKS to Dr. Mario di Martino Fusco ('Hazy?') and Herr Max Funke ('Spark'), classical scholars had this summer the thrill of their lives; but the New Livy soon fell among jests. 'The Saint Martin's summer of Livy.' 'All my eye and Beatus Martinus.' 'For the Spark was a Boojum, you see.' Perhaps the last has not been heard of the matter, and we still live in hope, if not of more Livy, at any rate of more entertainment.

On taking over the herculean task of editing *Bursian*, Professor K. Münscher, of Münster i. W., appeals to authors to send him copies of classical books and articles. 'Es würde das eine wirksame Förderung des Jahresberichts und damit der gesamten Wissenschaft vom Klassischen Altertum sein.' Yes, and, in existing circumstances, the discharge of a plain duty.

To *Litteris*, 'an international critical Review of the Humanities,' which is issued under the auspices of the New Society of Letters at Lund, we offer a hearty welcome. The admirable first number covers a wide field of literature, and opens very appropriately with a twelve-page review of an international book, *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay*, by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, while the first volume of *The Cambridge Ancient History* is discussed at even greater length by Kahrstedt. Contributions will be mainly (and we hope will tend to be exclusively) in English, French, or German, and English will be used for editorial purposes, 'because, in our experience, this language is more generally understood in French- or German-speaking countries than French or German in the Anglo-Saxon world.' Those to whose weakness concession is made may well leave complaints to others, especially when the concession is a compliment as well as an advantage. British students of

literature can return the compliment, with advantage to both sides, in Swedish crowns—five for the two issues of 1924, eight for three issues in subsequent years.

W. R. R. writes:

'The untimely death of Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White is a great grief to his many friends and a serious loss to scholarship and archaeology. In his life of forty years—some of them years of war in which he played a brave man's part—Mr. White had accomplished much: the Loeb Hesiod and the Loeb Ausonius (the initiative and the literary gifts shown in the Ausonius have been duly recognised by Professor Summers and Mr. Edmund Gosse); an edition (highly praised by Harnack) of *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*; many articles in the *Classical Review*, *Classical Quarterly* (including a paper in the current number on "A Peisistratean Edition of the Hesiodic Poems"); in whatever field he was working, Mr. White had always a keen eye for important problems), *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and elsewhere. For the Loeb Series he had also undertaken Statius and Sidonius; with the former he had made substantial progress. As an archaeologist, he had conducted Roman excavations at Caerleon, Castell Collen, and Cawthorn. Abroad he had worked for many seasons in Egypt under the wing of the New York Metropolitan Museum; and this institution has undertaken to publish three, if not more, elaborate works in which his Egyptian discoveries, researches, and observations will be recorded. The three works are (1) *New Coptic and other Texts from the Monastery of St. Macarius*; (2) *History of Nitria*; (3) *Architecture and Archaeology of the Nitrian Monasteries*.

As a teacher Mr. White possessed a quiet power which was all his own. His wide learning did not make him dull or heavy; he had a light touch, a vein of pleasant humour, and an uncommon lucidity of thought and expression. The qualities that struck his pupils most of all were his modesty, gentleness, refinement, and abnormal sensitiveness. His frail body seemed to them all nerves and feelings.

On my own part, I shall always remember him as a singularly attractive colleague and companion, and I join in the affectionate tribute rendered to his memory by his classical fellow-lecturer at Leeds, a man of his own age and in daily and hourly contact with him during my time and after I left: "He was one of the kindest and most considerate men I have ever known, and just the one man who ought never to have had to face such troubles."

## CIVITAS CORNOVIORUM

THE excavations carried out during the past summer under my direction for the Birmingham Archaeological Society on the site of Viroconium (Wroxeter near Shrewsbury) led to the discovery of the fragments of a large inscription. The position in which they were found made it clear that the tablet had originally been placed over the main entrance of a large public building, the excavation of a part of which formed the whole of the season's work. The character of the building and the various phases of its history will be discussed in the Report shortly to be published by the Birmingham Society, and it is hoped to complete its investigation in the course of next season. This note, therefore, deals only with the inscription itself.

Imp(eratori). Ca[es(ari). divi Traiani Parthi-  
ci fil(io) di[vi N]ervae nepoti Tra-  
iano H[a]driano Aug(usto) Pont[if(-)]  
ci maximo trib(unicia) pot(estate) xiii[i :  
co(n)s(uli) iii p.p.]  
Civitas Cornov[iorum]

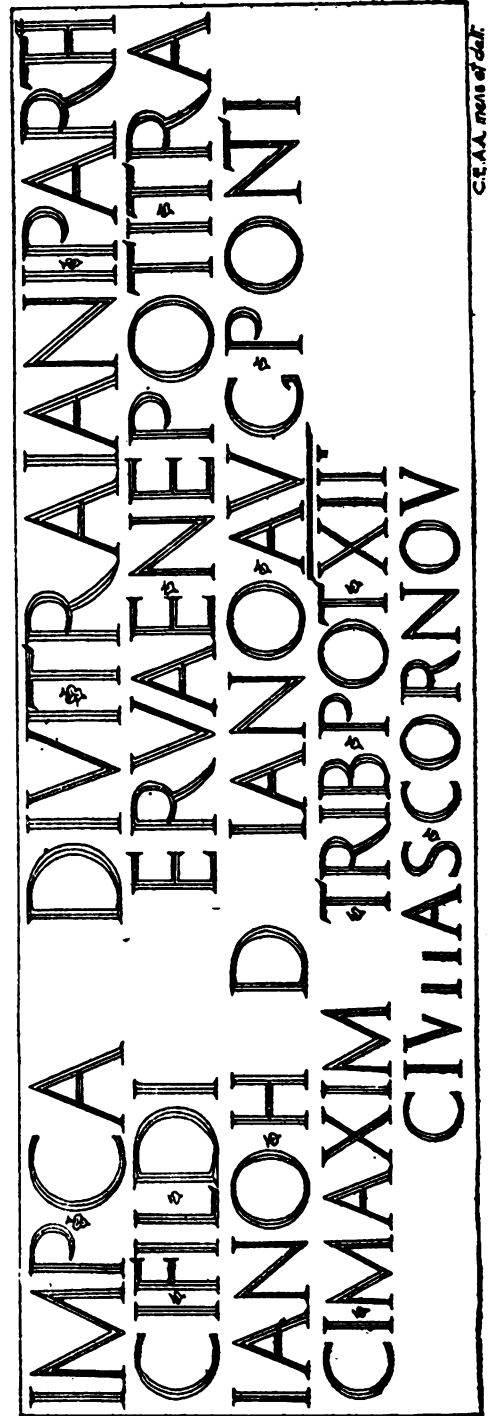
Its present condition, the character of the lettering, etc., are sufficiently represented by the accompanying drawing, reproduced from a block kindly lent by the Birmingham Society. It will be enough to say that the tablet consists of two slabs of fine-grained sandstone two inches thick, that its dimensions are eleven feet six inches by three feet ten inches (12 × 4 Roman feet), and that the height of the letters in line 1 is nine and a half inches. In falling from their elevated position the slabs were shattered, and the fragments, covered with building debris, lay scattered over a considerable area. Some of them eluded our search, but in only two points is there room for discussion as to the restoration of the text.<sup>1</sup>

In lines 4 and 5 I read—

CI·MAXIMO·TRIB·POT·XIII[I·COS·III·P·P]  
CIVITAS·CORNOV[IORVM]

(1) The reason for preferring XIII. to XIII. is that the vinculum, which ends

<sup>1</sup> Slight traces of the S in *Caes*, line 1, of the R in *Hadriano*, line 3, and of the O in *Maximo*, line 4, omitted in the drawing, are visible on the stone.



on the left vertically over the left extremity of the X, protrudes well to the right of the third vertical stroke of



the number, and must therefore have covered another stroke, of which the diagonal fracture of the stone has prevented the survival of any trace.

(2) It might be suggested that the last word was written *Cornovia* or *Cornoviensis*, but a search in the Indices of Dessau's collection and in the pages of the thirteenth volume of the *Corpus* has failed to reveal any case of such an adjectival construction. The genitive plural seems always to have been used. It may be remarked further that the suggested reading, perhaps with a ligature of V and M (*cf.* lines 1 and 3), fits well with the spacing of the inscription.

If we read XIII in line 4 the inscription is dated between December 10, 129, and December 9, 130 A.D.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, in this year the tribe of the *Cornovii* acting in a corporate capacity decided to build, or perhaps, as various indications suggest, completed the building of, the largest edifice which has yet been found at Wroxeter, in honour of the Emperor Hadrian. Whether the Emperor's six months' stay in Britain eight years earlier included a visit to *Viroconium*, and, if so, whether the building was planned on that occasion, may be left for later consideration.

Apart from such airy speculations two points of interest arise from a consideration of the text.

(1) Our knowledge of the name and position of the *Cornovii* rests on two sources. Ptolemy (*Geogr.* II. 3) places the tribe, with its towns *Deva* and *Viroconium*, immediately east of the *Ordovices* of North and Central Wales. His reading of the name is *Cornavii*. The *Ravenna Geographer* (I. 3) gives among his list of towns the barbarous form *Utriconion Cornoninnorum*. From this evidence the older antiquaries (*e.g.*, Wright, *Utriconium*, p. 1) give the name as *Cornavii*: more recent scholars, however, have preferred the form *Cornovii* (*e.g.*, Haverfield, *V.C.H. Shropshire*, vol. 1, p. 215, f; *O.S. Map of Roman Britain*, 1924; etc.).

An inscription (*Eph. Epig.* VII. 922)

<sup>1</sup> In spite of Dr. Henderson's preference for January 1 (*Life of Hadrian*, p. 280) this seems the most likely date for 'Trib. Pot.'

mentioning a *Cornovian* woman has been found at Ilkley, and the garrison of the Fort of *Pons Aelii* (Newcastle) on Hadrian's wall was the 'cohors i *Cornoviorum*' (*Not. Dig. Occ. Cap.* XXXVIII). But it is uncertain whether in either case the *Cornovii* mentioned are the Shropshire tribe, since Ptolemy (*Geogr.* II. 38) speaks of *Cornavii* in the north of Scotland, and it is possible that there was such a tribe name in Western Gaul (*cf.* the later name of Brittany—*Cornouailles*).

Our inscription shows that the late *Geographer* has a form which leads to the truth, while the almost contemporary Ptolemy's form is wrong.

(2) We learn also that Haverfield's conjecture (*loc. cit.*) from the form of the name in *Ravennas* is correct and that *Viroconium* was the tribal capital of the *Cornovii*.

There is abundant evidence, both literary (*e.g.*, Strabo IV. 1, 1, f; Tac. *Ann.* III. 44) and epigraphic, that the unit of local self-government in the *Tres Galliae* was the tribe and not the municipal town, and Sir W. M. Ramsay has recently (*J.R.S.*, Vol. XII., p. 157) produced evidence that the system obtained at first also in the predominantly Celtic region of Galatia. A similar organisation has been recognised in Britain, though the evidence for it has been somewhat scanty. The lists of place-names in the *Antonine Itinerary* and the *Ravenna Geographer* include a number in which to the town name is added that of the tribe—*e.g.*, *Venta Belgarum*, *Isca Silurum*, *Calleva Atrebatum*, *Ratecorion = Ratae Coritanorum*. And it has been suggested that *Ravennas* had before him a list which indicated in this way the tribal cantons of the province.

In 1903 an inscription (*Eph. Epig.* IX. p. 525, No. 1,012) was found at *Caerwent*, put up early in the third century in honour of a governor by the *Respub(ica) Civit(atis) Silurum*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the three inscriptions—*C.I.L.* VII. 775/6 and 863, *Civitas Dumnoniorum* (twice), and *Civitas Catuvellaunorum*—both found on Hadrian's Wall, is quite obscure, but in any case it seems impossible to infer anything from them as to the problem in question.

The tribal system was thus proved for South Wales in the third century and inferred from the lists for the rest of Britain.

Our inscription now proves its existence also in Shropshire in the reign of Hadrian. The cumulative weight of this new evidence may fairly be regarded as considerable: a system proved to

exist in two widely separated parts of the province may well be taken as extending over at least that part of it given over to civil administration. The Birmingham Society may congratulate itself on bringing to light the largest inscription yet found in Britain, and one which usefully illustrates an important aspect of provincial government.

DONALD ATKINSON.

## THE MIGRATION OF ASSYRIAN PLANT-NAMES INTO THE WEST.

HITHERTO at least a dozen plant-names in cuneiform have been recognised as having found their way into Europe, doubtless through trade: *azupirānu*, 'saffron'; *burašu*, *βράθυ*, *bratus*, 'pine'; *ZIZ. A. AN*, *ζιζάνιον*; *harubu*, 'carob'; *kamunu*, 'cummin'; *kurkanu*, *curcuma*; [*kitu*], 'cotton'; *lardu*, 'nard'; *mangu*, accepted as *mungo*, but doubtful; *murru*, 'myrrh'; *samaššammu*, 'sesame'; *tarmuš*, *θέρμος* ('lupin'). Probably *šurmēnu*, Arab. *sherbtūn* ('cypress'), should be added to the above (= *τερέβινθος*?).

In working at the Assyrian plant-names as a whole I have come across several more which I believe can be traced in European languages, and I append these with a brief indication of the evidence. I am conscious that their identification appears less satisfactory here than when they are examined in conjunction with all the other plants of the Assyrian Herbal together.<sup>1</sup>

(1) *NAM.TAR.(IRA)*, '(male) drug of Namtar' (the plague-god, a devil), which I mentioned last year in a paper on my *Assyrian Medical Texts* read to the Royal Society of Medicine, Historical Section. It is common in Assyrian medicine—especially, alone, for toothache, and, with others, in a prescription where sleep is concerned. The Assyrian equivalent is *pi(l)lu*—i.e. the Arab. *luffāh* ('mandrake') by a reasonable metathesis. Another Arabic equivalent is

'devil's testicles' (Post, *Flora*, s.v.), with which cf. the 'male Namtar (devil)-plant' of Assyria. Gerarde (*Herball*, 280) describes the mandrake as male or female. We have thus good reason on all the evidence for identifying the *Namtar*-plant as mandrake, and hence it is obvious that *μανδραγόρας* is only a garbled form of the word '*NAM.TAR.IRA*' (plant) by a simple inversion of *n* and *m* (*A.H.* 187).

(2) *Armānu*, previously incorrectly identified with 'pomegranate,' which I think I can claim to have settled as *nurmu* (*A.H.* 176). *Armānu* is indicated in cuneiform by its signs as a fruit similar to apple or fig. It is offered to the Worm in the *Legend of the Worm* (see my *Devils and Evil Spirits*, II. 160) along with dried figs as a better pasture than a man's tooth, which at once suggests *apricots*, as those who have seen the dried apricots of Mesopotamia will admit. It is clearly the *hazzūrā armenāyā*, 'Armenian apple' (apricot), of Syriac, and must have been taken over in the Latin *Armeniaca*. There is no certainty, however, that *armānu* has anything to do with Armenia, and hence M. Regnier's contention about its original provenance (as not from the highlands of Armenia) is so far confirmed (Rhind, *Vegetable Kingdom*, 333) (*A.H.* 176).

(3) *Karšu*, mentioned in a group in the plant-lists with *antaššu*, which I take to be the Arab. *injās* (a foreign word), 'plum.' *Karšu* is thus probably a stone-fruit: it was observed by Sargon (722-705 B.C.) in a mountain district not far from Lake Urumiyah (Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation*, p. 9). Ainsworth (*Travels*, 305) mentions *cherries* at Urumiyah, and this evidence, coupled with

<sup>1</sup> These will be found more fully in my *Assyrian Herbal* (Luzac), here referred to as *A.H.*, the substance of which I read as a paper to the Royal Society this year. It is in the hope of inducing some discussion from those who are better qualified than I to speak of classical philology that I have given this brief repetition.

the name *cerasus*, which Lucullus must have introduced with the fruit from Asia Minor, seems ample for *karšu* = *cerasus* (A.H. 129).

(4) *Miš.MA.KAN.NA*, in Assyrian *mu-sukkanu*, 'the *Miš*-tree of Magan' (part of Arabia); grown in plantations in Babylonia, and used in making doors in Assyrian buildings. The mulberry has never been satisfactorily identified among all the numerous well-known Assyrian trees,<sup>1</sup> and as it is a common tree in Mesopotamia the evidence given above for the equivalence seems satisfactory. But what settles it is the obvious philological similarity of the Greek *συκάμινος*, 'mulberry,' the same word except for the inversion of *m* (A.H. 180).

(5) *Šarbatu*, more rarely *šarbutu*, a tree growing in revenue-bearing groves near Harran in the eighth century B.C. It was less common in South Babylonia, for Gudea planted one there (evidently because of its rarity) and speaks of its shade. It has a gum used in medicine, defined as 'UD,' 'the white drug,' and is very common in prescriptions, being used for eyes, ears, mouth, nose, teeth, and internally for cough and the urinary organs. In Woolley's *Carchemish* II. 139 I compared it to the *strobis* or *storbus* (cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XII. 40), an odoriferous gum from Harran. The similarity of its characteristics with those of *Styrax officinalis*, L., are great: the latter is a shrub from 6 to 20 feet high, with snowy-white flowers, with an inspissated juice (*storax*) from the bark (Post, Hastings' *Dict. of Bible* IV. 20). It may, Post thinks, be the Heb. *libneh* (= Arab. *lubnā*, S. *officinalis*)—i.e. 'the white.' It grows in Palestine (Temple, *Flowers and Trees*, 33) and in Syrian gardens (*Penny Cyclopaedia* XXIII. 181). Are we then to see in *šarbatu* the original, not only of *storbus*, but of *styrax*? (A.H. 135).

(6) *AŠ*, reasonably often used in Assyrian medicine, and having a 'gum

for coughing.' Its name means 'the single plant,' and it is also called 'the human bone drug,'<sup>2</sup> and is used externally and internally. It has thus every appearance of being one of the Assyrian words for *asa foetida*, which provides a gum which is nowadays prescribed for chronic bronchitis (= 'gum for coughing'). Theophrastus describes the *narthex* (*asa foetida*) as growing very tall with a single stalk, which is jointed (*Enquiry*, VI. ii.)—i.e. our 'single' plant. *Asa* in *asa foetida* is said to come from the Persian *aza*, 'mastich' (*Concise Oxford Dict.* 47), but the Sumerian *AŠ* would take it very much further back. The comparison is clinched by *lasirbitu*, which follows *AŠ* in a plant-list in the immediately succeeding register, obviously the original of *laserpitium*, a form of *asa foetida* (A.H. 265).

(7) *Kudimeranu* (a form of *Kudimeru*), in a group with *saḫlanu*, which may well be the Heb. *š'hālim*, *Lepidium sativum*, L.—i.e. *κάρδαμον*. *Kudimeru* is prescribed for a hollow tooth. Dioscorides (II. 205) says the root of *Lepidium* is so used. There is thus a probability that *Kudimeranu* = *κάρδαμον* both in sense, and philologically by a simple inversion of *r* and *m*.

(8) *Kungu*, one of the numerous words for rushes, properly the seed of the *cyperus*. It cannot properly be included here, but it is interesting as being, I think, the original in Berossus (Cory, *Anc. Frag.* 56): 'And in the lakes [of Babylonia] were found the roots of *gongae*, which were good to be eaten.' These *cyperus* roots are still eaten in South Mesopotamia (A.H. 32).

It will be seen from several of the above that *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, are liable to be inverted. This, it should be said, is no uncommon phenomenon in the Semitic languages.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

<sup>2</sup> I had previously thought that this was a reference to the 'joints' of the *asa foetida*, but it is a name also given to safflower (A.H. 261), and is used as a comparison for the *Imhur-pani* plant (*\*calendula*, A.H. 92); vide my article, *J.R.A.S.*, 1924, 453.

<sup>1</sup> It was unsatisfactorily suggested for No. 5, *šarbatu*.

## CATULLUS CVII.

Si quōi quid cupido optantique optigit umquam  
 insperanti, hoc est gratum animo proprie.  
 quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque, carius auro  
 quod te restituīs, Lesbia, mi cupido,  
 restituīs cupido atque insperanti, ipsa refert te 5  
 nobis. o lucem candidiore nota!  
 quis me uno vivit felicior aut magis hac est  
 optandus vita dicere quis poterit? 8

1. So Ribbeck. 'quid quid' O, 'quicquid' GR. The balance of opinion seems to be in favour of keeping the hiatus. If a 'supplementum' were required to bring the verse into line with verse 5, 'optantique opis optigit' might be worth considering as an alternative to the 'cupidoque' of the Itali. 6. 'lucem' *edd.*, 'luce' V. 7. 'magis hac ē' O, 'magis me est' GR. 8. So V.

It is a pity Baehrens did not complete the restoration of this poem; he made such an excellent beginning! The chief difficulty is to explain and correlate the reading of O, 'magis hac ē,' and the reading of GR, 'magis me est,' at the pivotal point in line 7. This he did. 'In V nimirum scriptum fuerat

"magis hac est."<sup>me</sup> So far so good; but then he goes hopelessly astray. 'Quid sibi vult "me" superscriptum?' he asks. Why, obviously V's exemplar read 'magis hac me est,'<sup>1</sup> and that being so, we have only to turn to the MSS. at XLV. 10 and LXVI. 35 in order to decode the cipher. As 'Ad hac me' stands for 'At Acme' in the former,<sup>2</sup> and 'aut' for 'haut' in the latter of the two lines cited, so the true tradition here is evidently 'haut magis Acme est' [and as a natural consequence] 'optanda'.<sup>3</sup>

To Catullus Acme is for the moment a type. She is the embodiment of constancy<sup>4</sup> (as Hercules, at LV. 13, of

<sup>1</sup> So at Ovid, *Met.* XV. 9, cod. Mus. Brit.

Kings 26 (saec. xi.), has 'gre' (*sic*) for Graeca, an example which chance thrusts upon me. There are, as everybody knows, scores of others in MSS. of all periods.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hacmen' scribebat siquando debuit 'Acmen'

scribere et 'Harpocratem' rusticus 'Arpocratem' (*cf.* ad CII. 4).

<sup>3</sup> To illustrate the use of 'optare' and give the gist of the whole phrase one might adapt the words of Catullus himself, and say:

unam, Lesbia, te miser Catullus  
 mavult quam Syrias Britanniasque,  
 quam, quae praecipue fidelis, Acmen.

<sup>4</sup> Translate 'an Acme'; *cf.* XLV. 23 ff., 'uno in Septimio fidelis Acme,' etc., with LXVIII. a 95, 'quae tamen etsi uno non est contenta Catullo,' etc. 'Beatiore' in XLV. as

patient endurance and strength), the direct opposite of Lesbia, 'quae praecipue multivola est mulier.'<sup>5</sup> The words are so nearly the *ipsissimae litterae* of the tradition, and they fit the context so well, that we have no right to doubt their authenticity. But if they are sound, the latter part of line 8 is manifestly corrupt or—out of place.

Now in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, scattered about not in one but in several MSS., there are a dozen or more instances of careless transposition of 'half-lines.'<sup>6</sup> This failing of the scribes would seem to be an unusual phenomenon; but there it is, and the error may be expected to repeat itself elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> The remedy of retransposition is therefore well worth trying, and in the passage now under consideration it

compared with 'felicior' here marks the contrast between the 'happy man' Septimius and the 'lucky dog' Catullus.

This—in the author of the 'Acmen Septimius'—seems the simplest and most natural explanation. But there may be another and a better, which will presently emerge. *Viderint acutiores!*

<sup>5</sup> It seems not unfair to describe Lesbia in terms which (at LXVIII. a 88) Catullus applies to her as yet only if at all by implication.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Met.* I have counted as many as sixteen in all, but in some of these cases less and in some more than half a line is transposed. On a rough average we have one in every 750 verses of the poem. Most are recorded by Dr. Magnus, whose notation my list of references follows. They are to be found at I. 161, 304, (? 544); II. 335; IV. 553; VI. 15, (? 496); VII. 246; VIII. 279, 701; XII. 626; XIII. 220; XIV. 73; XV. 22, 50, 109. A passage when torn from its context thus tends to leave a rough edge, which the scribe or corrector would 'trim' to suit his own conception of the sense. Here the last syllable of 'optata' and the first of 'invitā' were 'frayed' in this way and 'emended' accordingly. At *Met.* VIII. 656 and 656a (in Dr. Magnus) and at Juvenal VI. 346-348 (the fragment of 'the Oxford Fragment') we have evidence of the damage such trimming entailed. In Ovid it is often hard to find any excuse for the transposition. Here there is just enough similarity between 'nobis' and 'obtanda' (if we may postulate in V's exemplar a spelling common enough elsewhere) to account for the blunder.

<sup>7</sup> Professor Housman, writing 'editorum in usum,' finds Juvenal's scribes guilty of the same offence in *Satire* VIII. 202. See also Professor Lindsay on Plaut. *Trin.* 1112 ff. (*Introduction to Latin Textual Criticism*, p. 38), and Dr. Sonnenschein, *C.R.* XIX. 314, on Plaut. *Merc.* 319 ff

works like a charm. Apply it; and with the change of 'vita' to 'invitam' the cure is instantaneous and complete:

. . . ipsa<sup>1</sup> refers te  
nobis; 'invitam' dicere quis poterit?  
quis me uno vivit felicior? . . . haut magis  
Acme est  
optanda . . . o lucem candidiore nota!

The poem is, if not a palinode, at least a pendant to the famous 'Miser Catulle' (VIII.).<sup>2</sup> Study the two side by side. Note the 'amantium irae' there—the 'amoris' [et spei] 'integratio' here; the unwillingness of yesterday—the willingness of to-day.

<sup>1</sup> 'Vox ponderis plena "ipsa" valet "tua sponte," ut LXIII. 56, LXIV. 81, *Aen.* VI. 146.' Baehrens *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 'Cheerful and tearful,  
with quick, busy brain,  
swayed hither and thither  
in fluttering pain;  
cast down unto death,  
soaring gaily above;  
oh, happy alone is the heart that can  
love'  
(W. Holt Hutton, *from the German*).

The key-word is of course 'invitam,' and the present challenge<sup>3</sup> is a deliberate answer to the past despair.<sup>4</sup> To Catullus Lesbia is, after all, the only woman in the world who really matters. The poem ends, be it observed, with an exclamation, a form of 'clausula' that the poet uses once and again elsewhere;<sup>5</sup> but this time the note is a note of chastened exultation. Lesbia may be inconstant; but what of that? She is still Lesbia—not Acme nor another.

Quare illud satis est, si nobis is datur unis  
quem lapide illa diem candidiore notat  
(LXVIII. a 107 f.).

D. A. SLATER.

<sup>3</sup> CVII. 6, "'invitam" dicere quis poterit?

<sup>4</sup> VIII. 12 ff.: . . . iam Catullus obdurat  
nec te requireret nec rogabit *invitam*.

Cf. also 'miser vive' with 'vivit felicior' and  
'candidi soles' with 'o lucem candidiore nota.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the last lines of XXVI.:  
o ventum horribilem atque pestilentem!  
and XLIII.:  
tecum Lesbia nostra comparatur? . . .  
o saeculum insipiens et infacetum!

### HORACE, EPISTLES I. 6. 39.

Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex.

'If wealth be your object,' says Horace, 'take care to be rich all round—not like the king of Cappadocia, with whom slaves are plenty but coin scarce.'

THE commentators have supposed that Horace here refers to kings of Cappadocia in general, and they quote letters written by Cicero more than thirty years earlier, which prove the poverty of the Cappadocian treasury in 51 B.C. But Horace wrote in 20 B.C.; and it is at least possible that he refers to the reigning king of Cappadocia.

This was Archelaus—a name which Horace's metre will not admit. He was the fourth and last king of the name, and reigned for more than fifty years. He became imbecile in mind and body, and died at Rome in 17 A.D. After his death Cappadocia *in formam prouvinciae redacta est*—i.e. was swallowed up in the customary fashion by the Roman Empire.

It is agreed for sufficient reasons that the First Book of Horace's *Epistles* was published in 20 B.C.; and the future

emperor Tiberius appears again and again in the earlier letters. In the letters from Augustus to Tiberius, preserved by Suetonius, the regular form of address is *mi Tiberi*; but such familiarities are not for Horace: he speaks to the prince as *Claudi*, and of him as *Claudius* or *Nero* or *Claudius Nero*, and once as *iuuenis*, which does not mean merely 'the young man,' but rather H.R.H. or H.I.H.

Letter III. of Horace is addressed to Julius Florus, one of the *cohors* or staff which accompanied Tiberius when he was sent by Augustus to seat Tigranes on the throne of Armenia in the year 20. Letter VIII. is addressed to Celsus, who acted as the young prince's secretary on the same expedition; and Letter IX. to the prince himself, recommending a friend named Septimius for a place in the prince's household. Lastly, in Letter XII., addressed to Iccius, in Sicily, Horace writes:

Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res,  
Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi uirtute Neronis  
Armenius cecidit, ius imperiumque Praehates  
Caesaris accepit.

These lines represent the true position of affairs. Augustus was the first man in the empire, Agrippa the second; and next to them stood Tiberius, aged twenty-two, son of Livia, stepson of Augustus, son-in-law of Agrippa, and well fitted by nature and education to hold such a position. He had at this time no rival for the succession: Marcellus had died three years before, while Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar, grandsons of Augustus and sons of Agrippa and Julia, were not yet born. Gaius, indeed, was born in this same year, 20, but the exact date is unknown.

Born in 42 B.C., three weeks after the battle of Philippi, Tiberius made his first public appearance at the tender age of nine, when he pronounced the funeral oration over his father in the forum. In August of 29 B.C., being then twelve years old, he took part in the triumph for Actium, riding on the left side of Augustus' chariot, while Marcellus rode on the right. At the time of those ceremonies he still wore the *bullā* and *praetexta* of childhood. The first public appearance of his manhood is thus described by Suetonius (*Tiberius* 8):

Ciuium officiorum rudimentis, regem Archelaum, Trallianos, et Thessalos, uaria quosque de causa, Augusto cognoscente, defendit.

'Tiberius began his public life by speaking in court in defence of three separate defendants, King Archelaus, the people of Tralles, the Thessalians: Augustus sat to hear each of the trials.'

In a previous paper (*Journal of Philology* XXXIII., pp. 166 f.) I have examined the method of composition observed, and very strictly observed, by Suetonius; and I shall use the

argument there put forward to draw an inference here—viz. that the first speech delivered by Tiberius in a law court was in defence of King Archelaus. The date when he put on the *toga uirilis* is not recorded, but it is probable that he delivered the speech on the same day. We know from Dio (LVII. 17) that the charges against Archelaus were brought by his own subjects. Augustus was a purist in style, and we may be sure that the young orator's composition was, like a later work of a similar nature, a 'very pretty piece of Latinity.'

Any trial of an independent prince at Rome must have excited interest; but this trial, in which Augustus himself acted as judge and Tiberius made the first public appearance of his manhood, must have been an event of the first importance from the social and dynastic point of view; and any allusion in contemporary, or nearly contemporary, literature to 'the king of the Cappadocians' must at once have recalled the circumstances to the minds of Roman readers.

It seems therefore a reasonable inference that Horace here refers to some incident familiar to his readers which was concerned in some way with that memorable trial. The actual incident it is impossible to determine. But if we suppose that Archelaus brought a great train of attendants with him to Rome, and yet found difficulty in paying the bills of the tradesmen who supplied him during his residence there, this would account very well for the sneer:

Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex.

J. D. DUFF.

## EROS THE CHILD.

IN a papyrus fragment of a Greek novel a certain Metiochos ridicules the popular conception of Eros as a child with wings, a bow, and a torch.<sup>1</sup> The ridicule is unoriginal;<sup>2</sup> its insertion here is an early example of the diversifying of a story by the introduction of a

retorical *θέσις*, an expedient dear to Achilles Tatius.<sup>3</sup>

But we may well ask ourselves the

<sup>1</sup> *P. Berol.* 7927 (saec. ii. A.D.); a revised text is given by B. Lavagnini, *Eroticorum graecorum fragmenta papyracea*, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eubulus *ap.* Athenae. 562 C.

<sup>3</sup> The use of this subject as a school exercise is directly attested by Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* II. 4. 26. A *θέσις* was a discussion of some general topic as *ἐὶ γαμητέον* (Hermog. *prog.* i., p. 50, Walz; Theon, i., p. 242, Walz), *ἐὶ πολυτεύεται σοφός* (Theon, p. 246), *ἐὶ προνοοῦσι θεοὶ τοῦ κόσμου* (p. 250), *ἐὶ σφαιροειδὴς ὁ κόσμος* (Hermogenes, p. 52).

question put by Metiochos (l. 13): how is it that Eros has never grown up? Why does he remain for ever a boy? The type is in fact old: *μάργος δ' ἔρως οἷα πᾶσι παῖσιν ἀκρ' ἐπ' ἀνθη καβαίνων*, says Alcman (fr. 38 Bergk<sup>1</sup>). It is frequent in vase-painting, and as early as the fifth century on coins.<sup>1</sup> By its side exists at first the representation of Eros as an ephebus. But it must be remembered that to the Greeks *ἔρως* and *ἔρως* were indistinguishable, and the god's name clearly covers diverse divine natures, as the cosmogonical Eros of the Orphics, the Priapus-like god of Thespieae,<sup>2</sup> just as it was susceptible of multiplication: hence arise the duality of Eros and Anteros, the plurality of Erotes, and the companion figures Himeros and Pothos.

With the other types of Eros we are not here concerned. Our task is to offer some explanation of his eternal boyhood. He is hardly to be connected with the Cretan divine child, such as their Zeus, or Hyakinthos, or Erichthonios. The Cretan divine child has a mother, and his birth and death are central points in the legend: though he lives but a year, he grows up so rapidly that he takes a consort.<sup>3</sup> Now, though Eros is commonly regarded as Aphrodite's son, the tradition speaks with an uncertain voice, and contains no popular story of his birth: his death appears nowhere save on a white Attic lekythos at Cassel, where he has been assimilated to Adonis and is represented as an ephebos;<sup>4</sup> and in the form in which we are considering him he is always too young to have a consort. (His association with Psyche in the minor arts from the fourth century onwards is probably in origin allegorical and

based on such conceptions as that expressed by Plato, *Phaedrus* 255 C.<sup>5</sup> His passion for the Okeanid Rhodope is peculiar to Nonnos, *Dionysiaka* XXXII. 52. We need not linger over the theory that he is the lover of Aphrodite, propounded by Jules Sourcy, *Études Historiques*, p. 488.)

Nor, again, is he parallel to the infant Dionysos, whose education by Leukothea is frequent in art, or to the infant Zagreus, whom the Titans slew when he was innocently gazing in a mirror. Moreover we cannot, I think, explain him as due to Dorian *Knabenliebe*; certainly in Crete, Thera, and Boeotia the gods associated with that were other.<sup>6</sup> Eros is never brought into similar relations with any deity—a fact which is surely significant in view of the degradation of the pre-Dorian Hyakinthos to be Apollo's minion.

We must look rather to the practice of Greek ritual and to the older ideas which lie behind it. The child had considerable importance in religious acts because of the quasi-magical view of the efficacy of chastity.<sup>7</sup> In particular, the child of living parents (*παῖς ἀμφιβαλῆς*) was required in harvest rites, in Ephesian priesthoods, in the cutting of the wreath for the Olympic victor.<sup>8</sup> As being *ἀμφιβαλῆς* he would obviously be lucky (and the ancients had a very concrete conception of personal luck, as is illustrated by Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompeii*, § 47), he would be suited for sympathetic magic, and he would

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Waser, *P. W.* VI. 534. Reitzenstein's suggestion of an Egyptian origin of the myth is purely hypothetical; furthermore, the frequency of its early representations in Asia Minor and the Pontus militates strongly against the theory. (So Förster, *Philol.* LXXV. [1919], p. 143; cf. the bronzes from Amisus [early fourth century] and Smyrna published by Th. Wiegand, *Anatolian Studies*, 1923, p. 405, Plate XII., XIII. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Bethe, *Rhein. Mus.* LXII. (1907), p. 449. According to Timaeus *ap.* Athenae. 602 the practice came from Crete.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (R.G.V.V. VI.), p. 54-, and for examples of the belief from ancient magical texts A. Abt. *Die Apologie des Apuleius* (R.G.V.V. IV. 2), p. 37, 163, 167; Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungsauber*, I. (Wessely, *Studien* XXI., 1921), p. 235-; Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus* (1904), p. 21, 51, 159, 165.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. G. Frazer, *G.B.* VI., p. 236.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, I., p. 45; H. Riggauer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, VIII. (1881), p. 72 (Eryx, Segesta, Syracuse).

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias IX. 27. 1; cf. Kaibel, *Götting. Nachr.* 1901, p. 506-.

<sup>3</sup> Pending the appearance of Nilsson's Aberystwyth lectures (summarised by H. J. Rose, *Year's Work*, 1922-3, p. 45-) cf. Glotz, *La Civilisation Égéeenne*, 1923, p. 292. For Zeus' annual birth cf. Antoninus Liberalis, ch. 19; for illustrations of a similar miraculous growing-up of a baby cf. F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, p. 62-.

<sup>4</sup> Boehlau, *Philol.* LX. (1901), p. 321-.

have been safeguarded from dangers threatening the young. Very small children could thus serve the gods; we know of two seven-year-old priests of Dionysos in Italy.<sup>1</sup> Such priesthoods commonly terminated at puberty.<sup>2</sup>

If children thus ministered in initiations, they ministered in marriages also. How completely marriage and initiation were on a footing has been set forth by Mr. Lawson in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 590;<sup>3</sup> a τελετή may well be, as Miss Harrison has urged, 'a rite of growing up.'<sup>4</sup> The mystic formula Ἐφύγον κακόν, ἦϋρον ἄμεινον (Demosth. XVIII. 259) was at marriages uttered by a παῖς ἀμφιθαλής (*Paroemiographi graeci*, I., p. 82). Here Roman custom was as Greek; two boys *patrimi et matrimi* led the procession, boys of the same sort attended the Arval Brothers, boys and girls thus qualified sang the solemn ode at *Ludi Saeculares*, which commemorated the ending of a period of the city's life and the expiation of all pollutions incurred therein.<sup>5</sup>

New light has been thrown on this rôle of the child in marriage by a papyrus fragment of the *Aitia* of Kallimachos, telling the story of Akontios and Kydippe. Kydippe's parents had betrothed her to a Naxian, and the wedding was about to take place. Here *P. Oxy.* 1011 commences:

ἦδη καὶ κόρυφ παρθένος ἐνδύσατο  
τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευσε προνούμφιον ὕπνον λαῦσαι  
ἀρσενι τὴν τάλιν παιδί σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ.

That is to say, a Naxian maiden had to sleep with a *puer patrimus et matrimus* the night before her marriage.<sup>6</sup> This is a practice rooted in very old sociological conceptions.<sup>7</sup>

A male child is here, as in other

Greek rites, essential in marriage ceremonial, as he is essential in various initiations and solemn religious acts. It was an essential principle of much Greek religious practice that δρώμενα should correspond with and reproduce divine doings and sufferings.<sup>8</sup> May it not then be reasonable to conjecture that Eros is a boy for ever as the divine counterpart of the παῖς ἀμφιθαλής in human marriage and human ritual? So he is represented in art as present at the union of Ares and Aphrodite, or of human lovers;<sup>9</sup> on a Roman sardonix now at Boston depicting the marriage of Eros and Psyche an Eros leads the way with a torch, another uncovers the couch, another bears the λίκνον.<sup>10</sup> But there is clearer evidence even than this for Eros' character. In the solemn ritual<sup>11</sup> ode closing the *Birds* of Aristophanes we read (1738-):

ὁ δ' ἀμφιθαλής Ἔρως  
χρυσόπτερος ἦν ἰας  
ἦθ' οὐνε παλιωτόνους  
Ζηνὸς πάροχος γάμων  
τῆς δ' εὐδαίμονος Ἥρας.

At the heavenly wedding Eros is the παῖς ἀμφιθαλής.

Of the divine counterpart<sup>12</sup> of the boy as sacred minister there is perhaps

<sup>8</sup> Stephanus, Byz. s.v. Ἄγραι, describes the Lesser Mysteries as μίμημα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον; Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.*, ch. vi. (p. 16. 21, Ziegler), speaks of the Cretans as 'omnia per ordinem facientes quae puer mortuus aut fecit aut passus est' (in their commemoration of the slaying of the infant Zeus); every year in Cyprus a youth simulated Ariadne's pangs of childbirth (Paeon Amathusius *ap. Plut. Thes.* 20); mumming in Dionysiac cults is familiar (*cf. Macchioro, Zagreus*, p. 24). On the principle *cf. Usener's* brilliant paper, *Heilige Handlung* (reprinted *Kleine Schriften*, IV., p. 422-).

<sup>9</sup> Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III., *Abb.* 688 (*cf. II.*, p. 772); Pfuhl, III., *Abb.* 676 (*cf. II.*, p. 837).

<sup>10</sup> Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, *Taf.* LVII. 11 (=Lippold, *Gemmen*, XXX. 5). For the λίκνον, *cf. Paroem. gr.* I., p. 82.

<sup>11</sup> Aristophanes may well have in mind the Hieros Gamos of Zeus Basileus and Hera Basileia at Argos (A. B. Cook, *Ridgeway Essays*, p. 213-).

<sup>12</sup> For this correspondence we may note that the members of a Philadelphian society of Eros-worshippers called themselves Ἐρωτες (Keil-Von Premerstein, *Dritter Reisebericht* [*Wien. Denkschr.* LVII. i.), p. 22, n. 19, *Abb.* 11), just as Bacchus' adorers called themselves βάκχοι (and *cf. Usener, Göttermamen*, p. 358-).

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* XIV. 1449, 1462.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Fehrle, op. cit.*, p. 161-.

<sup>3</sup> For the idea in the mystery religions *cf. Dieterich, Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 121-.

<sup>4</sup> *Class. Rev.* XXVIII. (1914), p. 36-.

<sup>5</sup> For their significance *cf. Usener, Kleine Schriften*, IV., p. 116-.

<sup>6</sup> A. E. Housman, *Class. Quart.* IV. (1910), p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> *Cf. D. R. Stuart, Class. Philol.* VI. (1911), p. 302-, and for another view, Bonner, *ibid.*, p. 402-; also Samter's judicious summing up, *Neue Jahrb.* XXXV. (1915), p. 90-. *Cf. J. Roscoe, The Banyankole*, p. 132, for a further parallel.



another Greek example, the ΠΑΙΣ, who is the younger or youngest of the mysterious Kabeiroi. On a vase found in the Kabeirion at Thebes he is represented as drawing wine in an *oinochoe* from a *krater* for the older Kabeiros, who is reclining and looks very like Dionysos: the *παῖς* is clearly a child, not an adolescent, as is further illustrated by the offerings of toys made to him.<sup>1</sup> To this ΠΑΙΣ corresponds the Samothracian Kadmilos, whose name was interpreted as meaning *minister deorum*.<sup>2</sup> Strabo classes together the Kouretes, Daktyloi, and Kabeiroi as *δαίμονες ἢ πρόπολοι θεῶν*.<sup>3</sup> Kern (*Orpheus*, p. 55-) treats this ΠΑΙΣ as

parallel to the infant Dionysos, and Dionysiac influence in the Theban cult may be regarded as certain; but there is no evidence for his growing up or being slain, and he may surely be regarded as a clear type of the divine boy-minister in heaven.

Both Eros, then, and the Cabiric ΠΑΙΣ or Kadmilos may be considered as the expression in terms of deity of the sacral functions of boyhood.<sup>4</sup>

A. D. Nock.

<sup>1</sup> For the Kabeirion cf. J. G. Frazer's brief description, *Pausanias*, V., p. 136-; for the vase, H. Winnefeld, *Ath. Mitth.* XIII. (1888) taf. ix. (reproduced in *Roscher*, II., p. 2538, *Abb.* 3; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, III., *Abb.* 613), and O. Kern's discussion, *Hermes*, XXV. (1890), p. 3-. In view of the admittedly caricaturist intention of the Mitos, Krateaia, Pratolaos group of figures it may perhaps be suggested that the act of the ΠΑΙΣ is a parody of a drawing of water for one of the purifications so common in the cult.

<sup>2</sup> Macrob. *Sat.* III. 8. 6, quoted with other texts by O. Kern, *P. W.* X. 1458.

<sup>3</sup> X. 15, p. 470. For the plural cf. the designation of the Kabeiroi as *Ἀνακτες παῖδες* at Amphissa (Pausan. X. 38. 7).

<sup>4</sup> The *Ἀσκληπιὸς παῖς* worshipped at Ladon in Thelpusa was given the epithet because of the story of his birth (Pausan. VIII. 25. 11; cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 805a); *παῖς* is not the equivalent of *παιδοτρόφος*, *pace* Maass, *Hermes* XXV. (1890), p. 405. Hera was worshipped as *παῖς* because she presided over each stage of woman's life as *παῖς*, *τελεία*, *χήρα* (so Farnell, *Cults*, I., p. 1190-). So the child Artemis, adored by the children in an Ostian painting, figured and discussed by Dieterich in his *Sommertag*, is not parallel to Eros; she is rather an instance of the way in which a worshipper assimilated a deity to himself, for which I may be allowed to refer to my forthcoming paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Nor are we here concerned with the princesses in Egypt who died in infancy and were worshipped as baby goddesses (Spiegelberg, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXI., p. 228), or with the baby sun there worshipped at the winter solstice (Macrob. *Sat.* I. 18. 10).

## DE TALENTO PLAVTINO.

THE line *eugepae! Thalem talento non emam Milesium* (*Capt.* 274) has worried me ever since I first read it; and I find no consolation either in the suggestion of Ussing *ad loc.*, that a talent would be a very small price for so super-excellent a slave, or in the sparkling translation of Professor Nixon (Loeb edition), 'I wouldn't buy Milesian Thales at a thousand thalers.' To express a similar feeling in English, and in every other language with which I am acquainted, including all other passages in Latin which I can think of, one does not name a large sum, even if it be ridiculously below the market value of the article, but a small one; a penny, not a hundred pounds, although we know that the thing we are speaking of has recently changed hands for a thousand.

I do not propose, however, to add another to the fairly numerous emenda-

tions of this verse. I suppose it to be sound, and the meaning to be, 'I wouldn't give threepence for Thales.' That is, I take it that by *talentum* Plautus means the Sicilian or South Italian talent worth half a *denarius* to six *denarii*; see the *loci classici*, Festus, p. 492 Lindsay (359 Müller), Arist. ap. Pollux IX. 87 (= frag. 547 Rose), Suidas s.u. *τάλαντον*, and for modern explanations of its small value (it was originally a talent weight of copper, then an equivalent in coined silver, afterwards much debased in value) see Lenormant in Daremberg-Saglio, art. 'Litra,' p. 1274 sqq.; Lehmann-Haupt in Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.* III. col. 603; and Viedebant, *Antike Gewichtsnormen*, p. 144. This interpretation is, I think, a fair deduction from the use of the word *talentum* in Plautus generally.

It is not easy in an author as yet

imperfectly indexed to be sure that one has got every instance of a particular word; but so far as I can find with the help of Naudet's index (Paris, 1832), Plautus uses:

(1) *Talentum magnum argenti*. There is no doubt that this is the ordinary Attic talent of 6,000 drachmae, nor (I suppose) any reasonable doubt that the old explanation of Gronovius is right—that the word *magnum* (and, he might have added, *argenti*) is used to distinguish between it and the Siculo-Italian talent. For this phrase see *Most.* 912, *Rud.* 1318, 1344, 1375, 1380.

(2) *Talentum argenti*. This is merely an abbreviated form of the same phrase. See *Asin.* 193 (where a large sum is clearly meant), 499; *Merc.* 89; *Truc.* 952. Parallel with this is the phrase *mina argenti*, as *Asin.* 633, *Vid.* 83. A distinction is implied between this and the copper units in use among Italians.

(3) *Talentum magnum*. Another and commoner shortening of the full phrase given in (1). The identity of the two is indicated, e.g., by *Rud.* 1330, cf. 1344. Other instances are: *Aul.* 309, *Cist.* 561, *Curc.* 66, *Most.* 912, *Rud.* 778, *Truc.* 845.

(4) *Talentum auri*, *Mil.* 1061; cf. *auri mina*, *Truc.* 893, 900, 936. Whether this means a talent (mina) weight of gold, or the value in gold of a silver talent or mina, I do not stop to determine. In any case, the mention of gold and of a mina puts the Sicilian talent out of the question, as it was too small for a gold coin and was not divided into minae, but into litrae.

(5) *Talentum* alone. Here in the first place we have a group of passages in the *Rudens* where the word does not mean a talent, but the talent (6,000 drachmae) promised by Labrax to Gripus. They are lines 1332, 1376, 1397, 1402, and 1407. It has already been fully defined by the persons concerned. Such passages prove nothing. Supposing that a Mexican, or a Canadian, has contracted to pay or receive a certain sum in American dollars; having specified the amount exactly, he need not repeat 'American' every time he refers to it, but may simply say 'dollars.' It does not follow that Canadian or Mexican money is at par in New York.

Next, we have the passage from the

*Captivi*, the meaning of which is in dispute.

*Trinummus* 727-728, with its pendant 1055, gives us a clue to the meaning of the word. The speaker is the slave Stasimus:

ad forum ibo; nudius sextus quoi talentum  
mutuom  
dedi, reposcam, ut habeam mecum quod feram  
uiaticum

... nam ego talentum mutuom  
quoi dederam, talento inimicum mi emi,  
amicum uendidi.

How is it possible that the Attic talent can be meant here? Stasimus is an impudent thief, it is true, and his master Lesbonicus a young spendthrift; but to ask us to suppose that the latter would allow the former to have as *peculium* a sum half as large again as that for which he has sold his house (403) is to make the central figure of this excellent play not a fool, but a lunatic. There is the further absurdity of making a slave oblige a friend with a short loan of some 6,000 francs and reclaim it merely because he wants a little money in his pocket for a journey.

*Merc.* 703 runs thus in our editions:

em quoi decem talenta dotis detuli.

But the MSS. read *talentam*. Now, as the full phrase for stating the amount of a dowry is in Plautus (*tot*) *talenta magna dotis* (see *Truc.* 845), and as the context makes it quite plain that a dowry is referred to, I am strongly inclined to see in the —*m* a remnant of *magna*, and to suppose *dotis* a gloss.

The remaining passages I have noted which contain *talentum* alone seem to me not to lose in point in the one case, in the others to gain, if this meaning of the word be assumed.

*Epid.* 701:

in meum nummum, in tuom talentum pignus da.

Epidicus impudently offers to take, not give, odds that he is right. Any sum of more value than a *nummus* will do; he is offering to take six or three to one (*Festus, loc. cit.*).

*Most.* 357, 359:

uel isti qui hosticas trium nummum causa  
subeunt sub falas

ego dabo ei talentum primus qui in crucem  
excucurrerit.

The *tres nummi* and the *talentum* are, I think, the same sum. If anyone is so obliging as to be crucified in place of Tranio, he shall have a whole day's army pay for this small service. This surely adds to the grim fun of the passage.

In *Most.* 973 Theopropides is learning, with incredulity that turns to horror, of his son's extravagance. The young man has freed his mistress, says Phauliscus. 'Quanti?' he answers. 'Triginta.'

'Talentis?' 'Μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, sed minis.' 'What, thirty threepences?' 'Μον Dieu, non! Thirty minae.' Theopropides contemptuously names an impossible sum, and it seems to me that an impossibly small amount suits his tone at least as well as an impossibly large one.

If, as may well be, I have overlooked any passages, I have a strong suspicion that they will prove explicable by one of the above methods.

H. J. ROSE.

### HORACE, OD. II. 2. 23.

Quisquis ingentes oculo inretorto  
Spectat aceruos.

'SAPIENS adeo contemnit thesauros,' writes Orelli, 'aequo et tranquillo animo eos praeteriens et uidens, ut ne retorquere quidem oculos . . . dignetur . . . Graecorum est ἀμεταστρεπτή.' This interpretation has been very widely accepted; and, indeed, the general sense of the passage is clear enough. But I suggest that the figure by which it is expressed has not been properly understood, and that the ellipse involved in the usual paraphrase ('whosoever views huge heaps of treasure [and passes by] without one backward glance') is both harsh and unnecessary. Orelli's Greek parallel, though superficially excellent, actually intensifies this very real difficulty. He quotes Plato, *Laws* 854c, τὰς τῶν κακῶν ξυνοουσίας φεύγει ἀμεταστρεπτή; but we have there a verb which literally describes motion away from the object, so that ἀμεταστρεπτή can quite naturally be understood strictly according to derivation ('flee away without turning back'), and is just as appropriate as it is with ἵεναι in *Rep.* 620E, where actual motion is in question: 'Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ δὴ ἀμεταστρεπτή ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς Ἀνάγκης ἵεναι θρόνον.' But there is no such verb in Horace, and the only action on the part of the *Sapiens* is that of looking, *spectat*. The obvious interpretation of *oculo inretorto* would make it an immediate qualifier of *spectat* without importing another idea to explain it. Orelli, indeed, dismisses any such attempt disdainfully; but we may notice that he is not justified in his implied suggestion that

*recto oculo spectare* (which he rejects as an explanation of our phrase) is synonymous with ἀτενὲς βλέπειν. The latter, like ἀτενίζειν, means 'to gaze earnestly or with attention,' and would therefore, as he says, be absurd if applied to the look of the *Sapiens* (ἀτενὲς ἀποβλέποντα occurs in Lucian, *Pisc.* XLVI., which Orelli himself quotes, in a specific contrast with the wise man's attitude to wealth). But *rectus* used with *oculus*, or similar words, such as *acies* or *lumen*, means nothing but 'straight.' The application may be literal or metaphorical, but it is the direction of the look which is specified. He is nearer the truth, despite some inconsistency with the opening of his note, in the remark: 'Similiter ut Horatius Synesius De Regno . . . οὐκ εἰκός γε αὐτὸν βλοσυροῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀντιβλέψαι χρυσίῳ.' But the figure there is of a bold refusal to fawn or truckle to riches, whereas our passage gives a picture of indifference or lack of desire, as L. Müller indicates by his parallel from Tibullus (I. i. 77): *Ego composito securus aceruo*. One older interpretation, equally rejected by Orelli, which makes the meaning '*non captum quasi ac fixum tenent acerui*,' is not impossible, and may be supported by Quintilian, *Decl.* VIII. 8: *inter tot destinatos totque perituros omnium tamen in se retorquet oculos unus aeger* ('all eyes are fixed on the one sick man'), where *retorquere* seems to have the unusual sense of 'to attract and hold.' I suggest, however, that *inretortus* should, after all, be understood as a variant of the ordinary *rectus*. Its meaning need

not be 'not turned backwards,' on which Orelli's interpretation ultimately rests, for the usage of such verbs as *retorqueo* and *reflecto* supports the translation 'not deflected from the straight line.' Examples are: Ov. *Met.* XI. 163, . . . *post hunc sacer ora retorsit Tmolus ad os Phoebi* (Tmolus looks from Pan on one side to Apollo on the other). *Ib.* X. 696, *Sacra retorserunt oculos* (turned aside their gaze). Catullus XLV. 10, . . . *leviter caput reflectens* ('turning a little'; the adverb shows how slight the movement may be). So the description of the *lupa* and the twins in *Aen.* VIII. (633 ff.), which contains the words *tereti ceruice reflexa*, implies motion, not from front to back, but from side to side.

Our whole phrase, then, means 'he looks with a straight glance'; and (in)retortus has a sense very like that primarily conveyed by (non) *deprauatus*. *Deprauari*, again, is the *uox propria* for 'to have a cast or squint': cf. Pliny, *N.H.* XI. xxxvii. 55, (*Oculi*) *uni animalium homini deprauantur, unde cognomina Strabonum et Paetorum*. Cannot we therefore give the phrase the metaphori-

cal meaning of *non fit strabo*? The use of *limus* and *obliquus* for a hostile, grudging, or jealous look is familiar: cf. Hor. *Epp.* I. 14. 37, *Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam Limat . . .*; and the actual word *strabo* may be used with the specific meaning of *inuidus*: cf. Non. 27M, *Strabones sunt stra(m)bi quos nunc dicimus: Varro Flaxtabulis περί ἐπαρχιών, Multi enim qui limina intrarunt integris oculis strabones sunt facti; habet quiddam enim ἐλκυστικὸν provincialis formonsula uxor: Lucilius lib. XXVII. Nulli me inuidere, non strabonem fieri saepius Deliciis istorum*. This is exactly the meaning which our context requires, and we can translate simply, 'whosoever is not covetous of wealth.' The figure is both lively and natural, and if Horace required a 'source,' he must have been familiar with the Lucilius passage. The actual word *inretortus* seems to be a coinage of Horace's own; but it may have been invented partly owing to its convenience for use in a Sapphic stanza, partly in order to elevate a homely figure belonging to the satiric style to a dignity worthy of the lyric.

E. M. STEUART.

### THE LAND OF THE BUDINI—A PROBLEM IN ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

MR. CASSON's paper, 'Herodotus and the Caspian,' in the twenty-third Annual of the British School of Athens, has opened up a new field of speculation on the subject of the Trans-Tanais geography of Herodotus. It is the purpose of this paper to amplify somewhat the theory put forward by Mr. Casson with regard to the localisation of the Budini tribe, and to follow it up further in connexion with the problem of the Scythian expedition of Darius.

It has been generally admitted by commentators that the geography in Herodotus IV. of the region beyond the Tanais is based on information from travel along a trade-route. Thus, while Scythia itself is known more or less comprehensively, or, as one might say, in two dimensions, the Trans-Tanais is only known along a certain line—in one dimension. The result is that its geography is a thing apart, almost

entirely unrelated to that of the rest of the world as conceived by Herodotus. It is this isolation and absence of familiar landmarks that makes the identification of the places and peoples concerned so extremely difficult.

The old interpretation of Herodotus IV. 21-27 assumed that the trade-route after crossing the Tanais turned sharply to the north, traversing the whole length of the country of the Sauromatae, and passing through the neck between the Volga and the Don, in the neighbourhood of Tsaritsyn; the Oaros was identified with the Volga and the Budini placed along it somewhere between Saratov and Kazan. Mr. Casson, on the other hand, holds that the trade-route ran east-south-east from the Don, and he locates the Budini between Astrakhan and the Caucasus. His rejection of the older interpretation is based on the incompatibility of the account of

Herodotus with the actual course of the Don, which does not flow from north to south, but west-south-west from its great bend at Kalatch. If therefore a man were to cross the Don eastward anywhere below Kalatch, he would by turning north merely recross it, and if the Sauromatae extended north from the head of the Sea of Azov they would be on the right bank of the Don, whereas Herodotus clearly intends them to be on the left. Hence, unless we save the credit of Herodotus by making the upper part of the Tanais the Donetz and not the Don, we must suppose that he was ignorant of the great bend of the Don, just as he was ignorant of the similar bend on the Dnieper, and that north must be taken as equivalent to east-north-east.

But Mr. Casson goes further than this. It will be noticed that the admission of Herodotus' mistake with regard to the course of the Don is not fatal to the theory which places the Budini round about Saratov; in other words, we may still suppose that, while Herodotus thought the trade-route ran north parallel to the Don after crossing it, it actually ran north-east. Mr. Casson, however, does not think that Herodotus intended any change of direction after crossing the Don; he therefore holds that Herodotus thought the Don flowed not merely south but south-east, and that while he thought the trade-route ran north, it actually ran east. On this supposition the trade-route's direction was north before it crossed the Don. The objection to this is that Herodotus IV. 122 says that the route of the Persians was eastward across the Tanais.

It will be seen from the above that Mr. Casson holds that, although the route was in fact east, Herodotus supposed it to be north, owing to a 90° error in direction as to the course of the Don. But it is here that Mr. Casson seems to admit a difficulty to his main contention which does not really exist. It can be argued not only that the route was east, but also that Herodotus says so. In the phrase above quoted we see that the Persians went eastward across the Don to the land of the Budini, and neither here nor in IV. 21 is there any hint of

a turn to the north. We are merely told in the latter passage that the extent of the Sauromatae country was fifteen days' journey northward from the head of the Sea of Azov. It has always been inferred from this that the trade-route went the fifteen days northward, but there is no reason why the measurement should not refer merely to the extent of the territory towards the interior; it should be noted that the measurement is taken from the Sea of Azov, and not from the Don, which is the starting-point of the imaginary traveller. Given that the route is northward through the Sauromatae country, *ὑπεροικέουσιν* in reference to the Budini naturally means 'dwell to the north of.' But *ὑπεροικέειν* does not seem by itself to have conveyed any such signification, for in two other instances (IV. 37 and VII. 113) where the north is meant, the words *πρὸς Βορρην* are added, showing that the force of the *ὑπερ* was indeterminate in regard to direction. Further, after crossing the land of the Budini, Herodotus says that the desert was 'beyond, towards the north,' and it seems strange that the direction should be specified if it was already north.

We thus have the Budini where Mr. Casson puts them, namely towards the Caspian. Mr. Casson has shown in his paper that Herodotus' account can be reconciled with the natural features of this region. The forests are those towards the Caucasus; it is evident that they cannot have covered the whole country, as the Budini are said to be nomads. The 'lake' is the Caspian and the marshes those along its north-western shores. For the use of the term 'lake' compare the Maeotis. As to the absence of its name, it is hardly likely that Herodotus hearing a vague report of a great body of water near the trade-route would recognise in it the Caspian that he knew.

The desert beyond the Budini is presumably that north of Astrakhan. The tribes still further on fall outside the scope of this paper. The Urals, the Altai, and the Hindu Kush have each been claimed by distinguished authorities as the 'lofty and precipitous mountains' of the Argippaei, and all three

claims are compatible with the localisation of the Budini in Ciscaucasia. But wherever we are to locate the more remote tribes, it is probably in their direction that we must look for the cause of the disappearance of the trade-route from the pages of history and geography after Herodotus. It was clearly still used in Herodotus' own time, and, if we are to believe Stephanus of Byzantium that the Issedones were mentioned by Alcman, it must have existed at a very early period; the Issedones are certainly mentioned by Damastes (fr. 1) and Hecataeus (fr. 168), and Aristaeus of Proconnesus claimed to have visited them. But after Herodotus the accounts of this part of the world become more and more vague and confused, and the idea that the Caspian was an inlet of the outer ocean became prevalent, nor are there any further descriptions of a trade-route. All this points to a nomad eruption in Central Asia similar to that which seems to have originally brought the Scythians to Europe; as Minns has pointed out, travel and trade across the steppes have in all ages been possible only in the intervals between the great migrations. The movement which whether directly or indirectly interrupted the Trans-Tanais trade was probably that of the Hiung-nu, who were pressing on China and the Yueh-chi for a considerable time before the end of the Chou Dynasty; the events attending the migration of the Yueh-chi are well known, but the proceedings of the Huns themselves prior to their arrival in Europe are shrouded in obscurity. Presumably the repercussions of their westward thrust were affecting the Trans-Tanais trade well back in the fourth century B.C.

To return to the Budini. An important problem with regard to their country is that of the identity of the Oaros river. The Oaros is not mentioned by Herodotus in the accounts either of the trade-route or of the Scythian rivers, but is introduced in chap. 123, where it is stated that Darius built forts on it. A river, to be identified with it, must be east of the Tanais and must flow into the Maeotis; the only two considerable streams that fulfil this condition are the

Manytch and the Kuban, both of which are otherwise unnamed in Herodotus, but Vardanes, a name of the Kuban in later times, seems to contain the *Fap-* of *\*Oapos* plus the Sarmatian (modern Ossete) root *don* or *dan*, meaning 'river.' The narrative of Herodotus, however, by putting the course of the Oaros along the edge of the desert beyond the Budini, seems to require the Volga, and here again there might be a survival of *\*Oapos* in *\*Pa*, the name of the Volga in Ptolemy. But the fact is that the root *ar-* or *ra-* was like the Sarmatian *don* or the Celtic *Avon* a generic river-name, appearing in *Araxes* (mod. *Aras*), *Iaxartes*, *Rha*, *Vardanes*, *Oaros*, *Ararus* and *Naparis*, and its general use was almost certainly the source of much confusion. Herodotus himself includes under the name *Araxes* not only the *Aras* proper, but also some river or rivers in Central Asia, and again apparently in IV. 11. the Volga. The later tradition that the *Tanais* was a branch of the *Araxes* must have had its origin in the approach of the Volga to the *Don* near *Tsaritsyn*. It is thus possible that Herodotus mixed up the Kuban and the Volga owing to a similarity of name; he certainly does not seem to have had any definite ideas about the Volga. Incidentally, Minns observes that *De Plano Carpini*, and as late as the sixteenth century the *Pole Mathias* a *Michov*, both declared the Volga to flow into the Black Sea.

Passing from the physical features of the country to the Budini themselves, we find some indications that they belong to the history of Ciscaucasia. Herodotus tells us that in his time the Budini had taken the name of *Geloni* from the city of *Gelonus*; though he is at pains to explain that this was a mistake; the latter name seems to have prevailed subsequently, and Minns regards the *Bodini* of Ptolemy as a 'mere survival of an empty name.' In the century after Herodotus we find *Gelones* in the central Caucasus (*Scylax Periplus* 80), though this evidence is rendered suspect by the mention of *Melanchlaeni* and *Phthirophagi* in the same region. The *Phthirophagi* are attested by *Mela* (I. 19), *Arrian* (*Periplus* 27), *Pliny* (VI. 4) and *Strabo*

(XI. 497), and the epithet may or may not refer to the habits of the Budini recorded in Herodotus IV. 109. A tribe, the Machelones, is noted in the Caucasus in Arrian's *Periplus Euxini*. In the first century B.C. the Alani appear north of the Caucasus, and about the same time the Rhoxolani moving west with the Sarmatae; their origins are unknown. We learn, from both Classical and Chinese sources, that the Aorsi, whom Strabo affirms to have come into Ciscaucasia from the north, took the name of Alani; an amalgamation of tribes is indicated by the form Alanorsi in Ptolemy. The derivation of Alani from Geloni is not impossible, and the initial *g* seems to be already disappearing in Machelones; probably the  $\chi$  here represents the German *ch*. The descent of the modern Ossetes from the Alani is generally regarded as proven, and it may be that a section of the Geloni had established themselves in Ossetia already in the fourth century B.C.; as indicative of the permanence of Caucasian ethnography it may be remembered that the Cercetes (Circassians), Absgi (Abkhazians), Suanes (Svans), and Iberians (Georgians) occupied just the same territory in ancient times that they hold to-day. Further, the blonde characteristics which Herodotus notes in the Budini reappear in Ammianus' description of the Alani, and to this day the Ossetes alone among the peoples of Caucasia are largely blonde.

Let us now turn to consider the connexion of the Budini in Herodotus with the Scythian expedition of Darius. After all the destructive criticism which has been lavished on the account of this expedition, it is hardly necessary to dwell on its impossibilities. But there are two points which require notice. First, while we certainly cannot credit Darius with the march from the Danube to the Volga, it is nevertheless in the land of the Budini that we come across the only two definite, tangible events in the whole story—the burning of Gelonus and the building of the forts on the Oaros. Second, both these events took place on the trade-route, and there is every probability that the tradition of them was related to Herodotus by the

same person who was responsible for the Trans-Tanais geography. This can only have been a trader who had been to the land of the Argippaei from Olbia; the phrase *διαβάντι τὴν Τάραν* shows that he did not start from Panticapaeum, and moreover Herodotus says that the traders went from the mart on the Borysthenes and other marts on the Euxine. It is generally admitted that Herodotus had himself been to Olbia. Here, then, he would have heard about a Persian burning of Gelonus and about the forts on the Oaros, the ruins of which were remaining *εἰς ἐμὲ*. And is it not conceivable that the people of Gelonus should have known whether or not their town had been burnt little more than half-a-century before, and whether or not the forts had been built by Persians? The details and circumstances of the campaign might well have been lost, but it is hard to believe that there should have been a tradition of Persian operations associated with these places if no Persian army had ever been within several hundred miles of them.

The significance of Mr. Casson's localisation of the Budini is that it places them within striking-distance of Persian power—not indeed Persian power in Thrace, but Persian power in the Caucasus and on the Caspian. It is true that we have no direct evidence for an expedition in this quarter, but the general probabilities of the case are in favour of it and the argument from silence against it is not strong. We have practically no information about the frontier wars of Persia except on the fringes of the Greek world, yet it stands to reason that so vast an empire must have involved many such wars no less than the dominion of Rome. Herodotus speaks as if the Persians had had no experience in dealing with nomads prior to the Scythian expedition, whereas in their conquests to the Indus and the Oxus they must have been incessantly fighting desert and hill tribes. We know of two expeditions to the north in the reign of Darius of which Herodotus seems to have been entirely ignorant:

(1) The raid made by the satrap of Cappadocia across the Euxine into

Scythia at the order of Darius just before the expedition of Darius himself through Thrace. (Ctesias, *Persica* 47).

(2) The reconquest of the 'Saka across the sea' who had revolted from Darius in the period of the civil wars; this was carried out by the King himself and is recorded in a mutilated appendix to the Behistun inscription. It is certainly not the Scythian expedition of Herodotus; the sea crossed is presumably the Caspian, and the mention of the Tigris between two lacunae seems to mean that Darius reached the Caspian from Susa by way of the Tigris valley, a course which would have much to recommend it. That the Caspian at this time was navigated is suggested by the comparatively correct measurements of it given by Herodotus (I. 203-4), and his knowledge that it had no outlet.

The Scythian expedition through Thrace does not seem to have been recorded by Darius, presumably because it was something of a failure. The same explanation might be advanced on behalf of a hypothetical expedition against the Budini; they were evidently not permanently conquered, and the forts on the Oaros were said to have been only half finished (IV. 124). Or the

expedition might have been a mere raid like that of Ariaramnes. However this may be, the hypothesis of an invasion of the Budini either across Darial or along the Caspian coast appears to be required by the narrative of Herodotus; on no other supposition can the latter be satisfactorily explained. But if Herodotus heard from a trader at Olbia about the attack on the Budini, and from Ionian sources about the proceedings of Darius on the Danube, his ignorance of the situation of the Budini relative to the Asiatic frontiers of Persia may well have led him to connect together the two groups of events. The difficulties of such a connexion do not dismay him; ignoring the distance, the time-limit, the great rivers, and the cornlands of the Borysthenes, he merely says that the Persians followed the Scythians 'eastward across the Tanais.' The return journey is safely outside Scythia altogether, in the remote north; it consists simply in a generalisation of the policy which the Scythian may actually have adopted towards the Neuri. Thus we have a tale which we can see to be impossible, but which must have been under the circumstances more or less inevitable for Herodotus.

G. F. HUDSON.

### THE LEX GABINIA ONCE MORE.

SINCE I wrote in support of Cuq's identification of the new pirate-hunting inscription from Delphi,<sup>1</sup> I have read a closely reasoned article by M. A. Levi, who rejects Cuq's conclusion and dates the inscription back to 99-96 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Levi's main arguments may be summed up as follows:

(1) The Lex Gabinia was an emergency measure which created a special command for the duration of a particular war. The new text from Delphi is a regulating act which lays down standing rules for a naval police. It is therefore not *in pari materia* with the Lex Gabinia.

(2) Lines 16-20 of the inscription,

<sup>1</sup> *C.R.*, 1924, p. 60. An improved text of the inscription is now available in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, vol. i., pp. 33-37.

<sup>2</sup> *Rivista di Filologia*, 1924, p. 80 ff.

which provide for the admission of envoys to the Senate ἐκτὸς τῆς συντάξεως, i.e. *extra ordinem*, are not in keeping with the law 'de senatu legatis dando,' which Gabinius carried in the same year as his pirate law. Our inscription therefore must be anterior to the measures of Gabinius.

(3) In ll. 8-9 mention is made of Λατῖνοι in Italy, alongside of Ῥωμαῖοι. This implies a date before 90-89 B.C. when the Λατῖνοι were merged in the Ῥωμαῖοι.

(4) In l. 9 reference is made to a reigning king in Cyrene. This must be Ptolemy Apion, who died in 96 B.C. In l. 21 a precedent is quoted from 100 B.C.<sup>3</sup> These accordingly are our *termini*.

<sup>3</sup> In ll. 21 ff. I would read ὁποῖα εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐπαρχεῖαν Γαίῳ Μαρῖῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ



To each of these arguments a reply may be offered.

(1) There are several clauses in the new inscription which indicate that it was, like the Lex Gabinia, an emergency measure.

Line 28 ff. gives a list of officials created *κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν [νόμον]* to hold office in the provinces. These were evidently not the ordinary provincial governors, but a special set of magistrates appointed *ad hoc*. This accords excellently with the terms of the Lex Gabinia, but is not to be looked for in a general regulating act.

In ll. 40-45 certain groups of officials are ordered to take an oath of allegiance to the new act in five to ten days. Nothing is said of a similar obligation upon the magistrates of future years. This clearly implies that the act had no expectations of a long life.

In l. 1 ff. the services of Rome's dependent allies in the East are enlisted by special despatch. Levi admits that the Lex Gabinia probably embodied a clause to this effect.

He also admits that the main clause of the Lex Gabinia, 'de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo,' could be accommodated in the missing first thirty lines of the text from Delphi.

(2) The contents of the Lex Gabinia 'de senatu legatis dando' are known so imperfectly that their bearing upon our inscription cannot be defined. In any case, the matter is of no importance, for the 'lex de senatu dando' belongs, in all probability, to the praetorship of Gabinius (61 B.C.), not to his tribuneship (67 B.C.).<sup>1</sup>

(3) Very little is known about the condition of Cyrene after the death of Apion. In 85 B.C. Lucullus found it a prey to contending *τύραννοι* and effected a *κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας*,<sup>2</sup> which probably means that he selected the most competent *τύραννος* and gave him provisional recognition. His decision, whatever it was, seems to have been reversed in 74 B.C., when Cyrene was declared a

province and received a visit from a quaestor. But the definite annexation of Cyrene, as Cuq has given good reason to believe, did not take place until 67-66 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The presence of a reigning king in Cyrene at the time of the Lex Gabinia is not susceptible of positive proof, but neither can it be disproved.

(4) As I pointed out in my previous article, the people of Italy before 90-89 B.C. comprised three classes, Romani, Latini, and socii Italici. After 90-89 B.C., the socii Italici disappeared, but the Latini survived as a special class. An inscription which mentions Romani and Latini, but no socii Italici, must therefore be dated, not before, but after 90-89 B.C.

It appears, then, that the law inscribed at Delphi was enacted on some highly critical occasion of the pirate wars after 90-89 B.C. Only two such occasions are on record—viz. when M. Antonius and Pompey respectively received their special commands. Of these two, the former can be ruled out for a double reason. (a) Antonius probably did not receive his commands by a law, but by the more usual procedure of a senatorial decree. (b) In l. 9 of the inscription mention is made of letters to be sent to two reigning kings of Syria. But at the time of Antonius' appointment the only rulers of Syria whom the Roman government recognised had been expelled from their possessions by the Armenian Tigranes, and were living as refugees in Rome itself.<sup>4</sup>

Thus there only remains the year in which Pompey assumed command by virtue of the Lex Gabinia. Two further points of detail may be quoted to show that our inscription is the Lex Gabinia.

(1) Line 1: *ὁ πατὴρ, ὃς ἀν' πρώτος γενήτ[αι, γράμμ]ατα . . . πέμψη*. Cuq rightly interprets this as 'the consul who shall first exercise office.' Now the drawing of lots for precedence between

<sup>3</sup> Levi makes out a good case against Cuq in retaining 74 B.C. as the date of the formal annexation of Cyrene. But he does not meet Cuq's other arguments.

The case of Cyrene may be compared with that of Cilicia, which received visits from Roman officials ever since 102 B.C., but was not definitely annexed till 78-76 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, II., p. 263.

[ὑπάτοις] <ἐπαρχεία> [ἐστὲν] λετο γράμματα . . . ὁμοίως [κελευσάτω] καὶ ὁ ὑπάτος κατ[ὰ] τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γράφειν.

<sup>1</sup> Willems, *Le Sénat*, II., pp. 156-157 and nn.

<sup>1-3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Lucullus*, ch. ii.

two incoming consuls would naturally take place before the beginning of their year of office. The law from Delphi must therefore have been framed at the very beginning of the legislating tribune's year of office, between December 10 and January 1.<sup>1</sup> Now Gabinius' pirate law was actually in force early in the year 67 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Therefore it must have been brought forward at the very outset of his tribuneship.<sup>3</sup>

(2) Lines 41-60 contain an interminable list of provisions for the enforcement of the new law upon the Roman magistrates, who were required to swear obedience to it and threatened with pains and penalties in case of contravention. This 'carmen horrendum,' which reads like a commination service, was evidently not a mere common-form

sanction, such as is found at the foot of a few Roman statutes, but was specially designed to counter some threatened disobedience: to find a parallel to it we must go to the 'exsecrationes' which Saturninus and Julius Caesar appended to their hotly-contested agrarian laws. We do not know whether the Lex Gabinia was actually loaded with a similar charge of gunpowder, but it was opposed tooth and nail before enactment, and subsequently attempts at *sabotage* were made against it. Moreover, to defeat the opposition of one of the other tribunes, Gabinius drafted a special measure for his deposition. Thus the last twenty lines of our inscription, which would form an extraordinary ending to any piece of routine legislation, are singularly appropriate to the conditions under which the Lex Gabinia was passed.

Conclusion: I still pin my faith on Cuq's identification with the Lex Gabinia.

M. CARY.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the agrarian law of Rullus, which was drafted in December 64.

<sup>2</sup> *De Imperio Cn. Pompeii*, §§ 34-35.

<sup>3</sup> Groebe (*Klio*, X., p. 374, n. 1) suggests January 67. This may well have been the date of the formal enactment.

## THE ACHAEANS IN THE BOGHAZ KEUI TABLETS.

DR. FORRER believes that he has discovered various references in the Hittite records of Boghaz Keui to the Achaeans, whom he identifies with the cuneiform Akhkhuyawa, as well as to Lesbos (Lazpa in cuneiform), and the founders of the Minyan Orchomenos, Eteokles and his father Andreus (cuneiform Antaras). His texts are not yet published, but the names occur in certain oracles which were published two years ago, but thus far have not attracted notice (*Keilschriftturkunden aus Boghazköi*, V. pp. 23 ff.). The oracles were answers delivered to the Hittite king through the mouth of prophetesses, usually after consultation with certain birds, more especially the eagle. I may note, by the way, that the points of resemblance between the oracular systems of Greece and the Hittites are numerous and striking, and suggest indebtedness on the part of Greece to Asia Minor.

The cuneiform texts are unfortunately much mutilated, which adds to the difficulty of interpreting them. But it is clear that the questions addressed to the oracle related to foreign policy.

After enquiries about a treaty with Astata, a kingdom on the Euphrates, south of Carchemish, and about political events in the region of the Halys, we read: 'So Antaras drove early in the morning a *benna*' (which is evidently the Thracio-Phrygian *benna*, 'a wagon'; cp. *φεννίον*, explained by Hesychius as the name given by the Pamphylians to 'the Medic,' or royal, 'road'). The fracture of the tablet prevents us from knowing the result of the drive.

A few lines further on we are told that 'the Sun-god (*i.e.*, the Hittite king) was ill when he was abroad in the city of Zidkhara.' Then 'they consulted (the oracle); within (the shrine) the tongue of the woman Ammallis was loosened in prophecy; through the diviner she prophesied as follows: to the Sun-god the prophecies of the woman he will recite.' The word I have translated 'prophecies' is stated to be borrowed from the Luvian language, which was spoken somewhere on the frontier of the Hittite kingdom, and to have signified 'conjunction.'

Then we read: 'While the god

Zawallis of the city of Zidkhara inspires the prophetic vision the *dammaranza* women turn away (the eyes); they go and repeat (*or* interpret) afterwards the tongues; the temple they purify; and the oracles which were delivered in regard to the Sun-god and to Antaras, these they give, and what they uttered at dawn this before the Sun-god [they declare]. Now while they in Zidkhara [obeyed?] the word of the Sun-god, on the third day let them be up at dawn and then the god delivers (the message) to them, and so to the gods and to the Sun-god they repeat (*or* interpret) the same. He (*i.e.*, the god) repeats the same (prophecy) as before. Then the Sun-god, on being made acquainted (with it), gives presents to the altar-table which has been

purified and to the other altar-tables afterwards.'

'Now the god of the city of Akhkhayawa, who is also the god of the city of Lazpa, and our own god, turn together to the Sun-god; an oracle is delivered; the god of the king himself hands on the same and they (the prophetesses) hand it on. Then they repeat (*or* interpret) the same on the third day to the Sun-god. Now the god of the cities of Akhkhayawa and Lazpa on the third day as before takes his share (*lit.* is a partner). After being informed the Sun-god once more inspects the altar-tables when they have been purified again.'

The site of the city of Zidkhara is unknown.

A. H. SAYCE.

## THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE *HISTORIA AUGUSTA*.

FOR students of the history of the Roman Empire the problem of the character of that strange compilation—the so-called *Historia Augusta*—cannot fail to cause embarrassment. When and under what circumstances was it composed? It appears to be now generally agreed that the compilation is pseudonymous and that it is the work of a single author. Mommsen's famous article,<sup>1</sup> directed against Dessau's attack<sup>2</sup> upon the authenticity of the work, is considered to have failed in its main contention. The majority of modern writers would now date the composition of the collection to the later years of the fourth century, to the reign of Theodosius the Great; so recently (*inter alios*) Hirschfeld,<sup>3</sup> Geffcken,<sup>4</sup> Hohl,<sup>5</sup> and Rosenberg.<sup>6</sup>

Seeck<sup>7</sup> would, however, place it in the fifth century, and holds that it was written during the reign of the usurper Constantine. There are difficulties to be met before either view can be accepted. The most obvious difficulty was forcibly stated by Mommsen: it lies in the author's glorification of the Emperor Claudius II. as ancestor of Constantius I. The words of Mommsen will be recalled: 'Die Biographie des Claudius mit ihren überschwänglichen Lobreden auf einen ephemeren und längst verstorbenen Herrscher, mit der unverfrorenen Erklärung, dass dies des Constantius wegen geschehe, mit ihrer feierlichen Hinweisung auf die Unvergänglichkeit der flavischen Dynastie trägt unverkennbar den Stempel des—natürlich gleich allen seinen Collegen durch die reine Wahrheitsliebe zu solcher Verherrlichung gedrängten—Officiosus; und die Hypothese, dass hier in mühsamer Fälscherconsequenz der Preis einer zur Zeit der Abfassung ausgestorbenen Dynastie verkündet werde, wird einfach widerlegt für jeden Unbefangenen durch das *cui bono*, das bei litterarischen Producten dieser Art nicht trügen kann.'

<sup>1</sup> *Die Scriptores historiae Augustae. Gesammelte Schriften* VII., pp. 302-363 [= *Hermes* XXV. (1890), pp. 228-292.]

<sup>2</sup> H. Dessau: *Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der Scriptores historiae Augustae* (*Hermes* XXIV. [1889], pp. 337-392); *Über die Scriptores historiae Augustae* (*Hermes* XXVII. [1892], pp. 561-605).

<sup>3</sup> *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 887-891.

<sup>4</sup> J. Geffcken: *Religionsgeschichtliches in der H.A.* (*Hermes* LV. [1920], pp. 279-295).

<sup>5</sup> E. Hohl: *Über den Ursprung der H.A.* (*Ibid.* pp. 296-310).

<sup>6</sup> A. Rosenberg: *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur römischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 231-241.

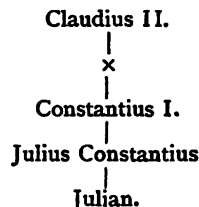
<sup>7</sup> Especially in the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Vol. CXL. (1890), pp. 606-639, and in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1912, N.F. LXVII.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

An attempt to meet this difficulty in the case of the Theodosian dating was made by Hirschfeld,<sup>1</sup> who pointed out that Gratian had married Constantia, the daughter of Constantius II., and thus might well have sought to accentuate his affinity through this marriage with the house of Constantine. But so far as I am aware there is no evidence from contemporary literature to support the view that the story of the connexion of Constantius I. with Claudius II. was in fact revived at this time, and the very pious Emperor Gratian does not seem a likely person to have asserted a claim to descent from a pagan emperor of the third century; he would not seek to go further back than the first Christian sovran, Constantine. For the fifth-century dating Seeck<sup>2</sup> has observed that the usurper Constantine on some of his coins bears the name 'Flavius,' and concludes, again without any support from contemporary evidence, that he revived the claim which Constantine had invented on the overthrow of the Herculanian dynasty. But in either case it would not seem easy to explain the oracle (*Claudius* c. x. 5) promising that the dynasty of Constantine should not come to an end, when it was well known that in fact it had so terminated with the death of Julian. The *natural* interpretation of this oracle is surely that the compilation of the *Historia Augusta* took place *before* Julian's death. My suggestion is that the *Historia Augusta* does indeed date from the reign of Julian the Apostate.

In the *Historia Augusta* Constantius I. is the *nepos* of Claudius II: he was the father of Julius Constantius, whose son was the Emperor Julian. The Emperor Claudius came from the Balkan lands where, as Toutain has demonstrated, there was a widespread cult of the Sun-god.<sup>3</sup> Maurice has shown in his *Numismatique Constantinienne* how in 310 to the Hercu-

lian dynasty succeeds the *solar* dynasty of Constantius—Constantine. Julian's 'solar' family-tree is thus:



With this *cf.* Julian: *Or.* IV. (ed. Hertlein), p. 170, *κάλλιστον μὲν οὖν εἶ τῷ ξυνηρέχθῃ καὶ πρὸ τριγωνίας ἀπὸ πολλῶν πάνυ προπατόρων ἐφεξῆς τῷ θεῷ [= Helios] δουλεύσαι κ.τ.λ.: πρὸ τριγωνίας*=precisely the Emperor Claudius II., and behind him stand the line of Balkan sun-worshippers.<sup>4</sup> This is the background of the *Historia Augusta*.

This explains the oracle in *Vita Claudii* c. x. 4; the passage runs as follows:

'cum in Apennino *de se* consuleret [*sc.* Claudius] responsum huius modi accepit,

Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas;  
*item cum de posteris suis,*

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora  
ponam':

—for himself three summers, *i.e.* A.D. 268-270: for his posterity an immortality of rule: Julian's descendants are to inherit the imperial throne.

With this key in our hands I venture to think that the difficulties which have troubled Seeck and others are difficulties no longer. To notice a few of these: first the famous passage in *Claudius* c. ii. 6 which, we must agree with Seeck, is incomprehensible if written at the time suggested by the pseudonymous author. 'Quid enim magnum vir ille domi forisque non habuit? amavit parentes. quid mirum? amavit et fratres: iam potest dignum esse miraculo.' (How had the sons of Constantine loved one another?) 'amavit propinquos: res nostris temporibus comparanda miraculo' (the murder of Julian's kin and the participation of Constantius; the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 889-90.

<sup>2</sup> See *reff.* in note 7 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar sun-worship in the case of Diocletian and Maximian *cf.* G. Costa: *Religione e Politica nell'impero romano* (Torino, 1923), pp. 186-188. The reader will at once recall the story of the Pannonian stone-masons.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* Maurice: *L'Origine des seconds Flaviens* in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1910, pp. 96-103. *Cf.* Himerius: *Ecl.* XII. 6. of Constantius II. *σοὶ . . . ὁ προπάτωρ Ἡλῖος.*

death of Gallus; Julian's own treatment by Constantius). There follows a veiled panegyric on Julian: 'invidit nulli, malos persecutus est. fures iudices palam aperteque damnavit. stultis quasi neglegenter indulxit' (the Christians?). 'leges optimas dedit. talis in re p. fuit ut eius stirpem ad imperium summi principes eligerent, *emendatior senatus optaret*' (*cf. infra*). The programme of a reign is revealed to those who would at once realise that this was a piece of contemporary history.

The meaning of the much-discussed passage *Severus* 20 is now obvious. 'Et reputanti mihi, Diocletiane Auguste, neminem [facere] prope magnorum virorum optimum et utilem filium reliquisse satis claret. Denique aut sine liberis veris interierunt' (Diocletian dying with only adopted 'sons'), 'aut tales habuerunt plerique ut melius fuerit de rebus humanis sine posteritate discedere' (Constantine's sons again). The whole chapter is a biting commentary on the history of the successors of Constantine.

The theory of succession propounded in *Claudius* c. xii. 3 which troubled Seeck is no less clear. On the death of Claudius 'Quintillus frater eiusdem, vir sanctus et sui fratris, ut vere dixerim, frater' (= Gallus and Julian) 'delatum sibi omnium iudicio suscepit imperium, non hereditarium, sed merito virtutum, qui factus esset imperator etiamsi frater Claudii principis non fuisset'—surely a clever use of past history to illustrate Julian's title to the throne.

The whole of the close of the life of Alexander Severus is again *Zeitgeschichte*. It is unfortunately too long to quote here, but it deserves careful study. It is, of course, the contrast between the eunuch-ridden fool (*fatuus*) Constantius and Julian surrounded by friends such as Sallustius. For Julian's clearance of the court from the eunuch tribe c. 67 is peculiarly interesting. Again these chapters state the programme of the reign. Even Basilina, whose memory Julian cherished, finds her place ('et optimae matris consiliis usus est'). The bitterness of Julian's life in Gaul calumniated by the agents of Constantius at the court of Milan is mirrored in c. 66. 3, just as it is

reflected in the words put into the mouth of Diocletian in *Aurelian* c. 43. It is Julian's scorn of the circus and his dislike of the lavish waste of money upon the games which finds its echo in *Aurelian* 15. 3-6 and *Carinus* c. 20.

Another passage, which Seeck in the *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. LXVII. (1912), was at a loss to explain, can now be understood without difficulty. In *Carus* c. 9 the author writes, after inserting an apocryphal letter of Julius Calpurnius, 'Hanc ego epistolam idcirco indidi quod plerique dicunt vim fati quandam esse, ut Romanus princeps Ctesiphontem transire non possit, ideoque Carum fulmine absumptum, quod eos fines transgredi cuperet, qui fataliter constituti sunt. sed sibi habeat artes suas timiditas, calcanda virtutibus. licet plane ac licebit, ut per sacratissimum Caesarem Maximianum constitit, Persas vincere atque ultra eos progredi, et futurum reor, si a nostris non deseratur promissus numinum favor.' Not only a prophetic vision of Julian's success in his Persian campaign, but also surely a proof that there were those in Julian's day who did not share the emperor's military aims.

We have noticed the *senatus emendatior* of the Claudius biography; we can now understand the enigma of the attitude of the compiler of the *Historia Augusta* to the senate. This is no reference to Stilichonian policy, as Seeck unconvincingly suggested; the attitude of the author towards the senate reflects throughout the constitutional archaism of Julian. Julian wrote, we know, a letter to the senate: hence the forged correspondence with the senate invented by the author. This explains the part played in the *Historia Augusta* by the representatives of Roman senatorial families. Gallienus, the enemy of the senate, is matched against Claudius-Julian. We have here a contemporary source which shows us the effect produced by Julian's attitude towards the historic council of the capital.

Now we can understand the Gallic colouring of the whole work.<sup>1</sup> Seeck took exception to the author's state-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hohl, *op. cit.*, p. 305 and p. 308.

ment that Constantius I. was chosen Caesar by Diocletian that 'Gallias Romanis legibus redderet' (*Carinus* 20. 3)—a contemporary, he argued, would have written *Britannias*. True, but the passage finds its conscious contrast in Gallienus—the villain of the piece, who 'perdita Gallia risisse . . . perhibetur' (*Gallienus* 6. 6). That contrast appears again in *Gallienus* 4. 3, 'Cum Gallienus in luxuria et improbitate persisteret cumque ludibriis et helluationi vacaret neque aliter rem p. gereret, quam cum pueri fingunt per ludibria potestates, Galli, quibus insitum est leves ac degenerantes a virtute Romana et luxuriosos principes ferre non posse, Postumum ad imperium vocarunt, exercitibus quoque consentientibus, quod occupatum imperatorem libidinibus querebantur.' It is the revolt of Julian from Constantius. The same theme is more explicitly developed in *Trig.-Tyr.* 5. 5: 'Ita Gallieno perdente rem p. in Gallia primum Posthumus deinde . . .' (the Gallic usurpers) 'adsertores Romani nominis exstiterunt. Quos omnes datos divinitus credo, ne, cum illa pestis inauditae luxuriae impediretur malis, possidendi Romanum solum Germanis daretur facultas. Qui si eo genere tunc evadissent, quo Gothi et Persae, convenientibus in Romano solo gentibus venerabile hoc Romani nominis finitum esset imperium.' We might be reading Ammianus Marcellinus on the Gallic campaigns of Julian.

Further we are in a position better to appreciate the religious attitude of the *Historia Augusta*. Bidez has shown<sup>1</sup> that at the beginning of Julian's reign his religious policy was that of tolerance towards the Christians: Christian bishops, for example, were summoned to his court. It was only later, especially at Antioch, that he became embittered. Geffcken has remarked that in Julian's work a clear distinction is drawn in his treatment of Christ as differentiated from that of the Christians.<sup>2</sup> In the same way the person of

Christ is treated with respect in the *Historia Augusta*. The work represents Julian's earlier position: it is rather a plea for paganism than a violent attack upon Christianity. It would justify men in seeking 'opem deorum quae numquam cuiquam turpis est' (see Geffcken in *Hermes*, *loc. cit.*, p. 291 for the text of *Aurelianus* 19. 5); 'neque enim indecorum est dis iuvantibus vincere. sic apud maiores nostros multa finita sunt bella, multa coepta' (*Aurelianus* 20. 7). The bitterness displayed in Hadrian's letter is perhaps explained by Julian's well-known difficulties in Alexandria; the much-discussed reference to the 'patriarcha' is surely an unkind hit against Athanasius—the one Alexandrian patriarch of whom the West of Europe had any intimate knowledge! (*Saturninus* cc. 7-8.)

This paper only attempts to deal with passages which have recently been the subject of debate. The *Historia Augusta* must be restudied from the point of view of the history of Julian's reign. Contemporaries doubtless knew it for what it was—a clever *Tendenzschrift*. It remained for Symmachus to use it as an historical source.<sup>3</sup> Hohl has recently written: 'Vestigia terrent. Manche absonderliche Eintagsblüte hat der Boden der Historia-Augusta-Forschung schon getrieben. Da wird man sich nur zögernd zu einem weiteren Versuch entschliessen.' I am conscious of the risk, but I know of no insuperable difficulties standing in the way of the suggested dating. For the names of Roman aristocratic families mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* I would refer to the admirable remarks of Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 890-891; for the Probus oracle to Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, VII., pp. 345-346; for the union between the families of Albin and Caeionii Postumii to Seeck, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, CXLI. (1890), p. 633, who has shown that this must have taken place ca. A.D. 350; while Menadier's very careful study *Die Münzen und das Münzwesen bei den Scriptoribus Historiae Augustae* (Berlin dissertation, 1913) only results in the conclusion that the work cannot have

<sup>1</sup> J. Bidez, *L'Évolution de la Politique de l'Empereur Julien en Matière religieuse* [= *Extrait from the Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*. (*Classe des Lettres*, etc., No 7 [1914], pp. 466-461)]. Bruxelles, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, *loc. cit.*, p. 283, and *Zwei griechische Apologeten* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, *loc. cit.*, p. 298.

been compiled before the second half of the fourth century.

It remains for others to judge whether

the suggested explanation is after all but another *Eintagsblüte*.

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### PERSIUS, II. 37.

Hunc optet generum rex et regina; puellae  
Hunc rapiant; quidquid calcaverit hic, rosa  
fiat!

'THE first and last wish undoubtedly have their origin in nursery tales and probably the second,' says Friedländer (*Roman Life and Manners*, IV., p. 90). Though nearly right, this is not quite accurate. The reminiscence is not of fairy story, but of the blessings invoked by the singers of seasonal songs upon members of a household which shows itself generous to the waits. That such conventional blessings formed part of ancient seasonal songs, as of modern carols, may be seen in the Samian *Eiresione* (*Hom. Epigr.* XV.):

τοῦ παιδὸς δὲ γυνή κατὰ διφράδα βήσεται ὕμνῳ  
κτλ.

Their forms are very stereotyped. Here are a few parallels to the three wishes in Persius taken from modern

Greek carols. They could easily be multiplied, but these may suffice to illustrate my contention.

1. 'And if you have a girl child, may a golden fate be hers, may she take for a husband the son of the King of Spain' (τοῦ 'Ρήγα Σπάνια τὸ ὑγιὸς ἀντρα νὰ τὸνε πάρῃ, *Λαογραφία*, II., p. 684. Compare the three princesses who broider the satchel for the son of the house, *B.S.A.* XX., p. 56).

2. 'Lady mine, your little son, Lady, your precious one, five little girls are in love with him and eighteen big ones' (πέντε μικρὲς τὸν ἀγαποῦν καὶ δεκοχτὼ μεγάλες, Passow, cccci).

3. 'And, Lady, when you go to church, the path is full of roses from your tread' (ἡ στράτα ῥόδα γέμῃσεν ἀπὸ τὴν περπατιζιά σου, *B.S.A.* XX., p. 41. Compare Passow, ccxcv, line 17).

W. R. HALLIDAY.

### LATICES SIMULATOS FONTIS AVERNI.

DIDO in her despair summoned a priestess skilled in the magic art. This priestess used for a solemn sprinkling *latices simulatos fontis Auerni* (*Aen.* IV. 512). Conington *ad loc.* remarks: 'Virgil candidly admits that the water used by the priestess was not genuine,' and his words are echoed by Papillon and others. But such an admission would be out of place. Virgil is here describing a scene of love-magic as it was practised in his own time.<sup>1</sup> He has emphasised the correct ritual details, *exuias* (*cf.* Fahz, *R.G.V.V.* II., p. 131 ff.), *crinis effusa* (*cf.* Hor. *Sat.* I. 8. 24), *falcibus aenis* (*cf.* Seru. *ad Aen.* I. 448 for the use of a bronze knife to cut the hair of the *flamen Dialis*; Macrobian. *Sat.* V. 19. 13 for the same custom of Sabine priests, and for the bronze plough in the Etruscan ceremonies connected with the foun-

<sup>1</sup> Fahz, *R.G.V.V.* II., pp. 144 ff., argues that descriptions of magic in Latin poetry are due to literary models. At the same time it is not necessary to assume that Virgil followed them rather than his own observations of contemporary magic, or to conjecture with Radermacher, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XXI., pp. 238 f., that the love magic in the *Confessio S. Cypriani* is copied from Lucian, *Philopseudes*. Magic was practised in Virgil's time, and represented in Pompeian wall-painting (as Reinach,

dation of towns<sup>2</sup>), *unum exuta pedem uinclis* (*cf.* Hopfner, *Griechisch-Aegyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, p. 240, § 858, O. Gruppe, *Bursians Jahresh.* 186, p. 178, Frazer, *G.B.*<sup>3</sup> III., pp. 311 ff.), *in ueste recincta* (*cf.* Hor. *Sat.* I. 8. 23; Ou. *Met.* VII. 182; Hopfner, *op. cit.*, p. 239, § 857), and *sparserat* (*cf.* Macrobian. *Sat.* III. 1. 6).

Servius guides us to a better interpretation with the note: 'in sacris, ut supra diximus, quae exhiberi non poterant simulabantur et erant pro ueris' (the earlier note is that on *Aen.* II. 116).<sup>3</sup> The pretence is a definite ritual pretence, like the pretence of human sacrifice (*G.B.*<sup>3</sup> IV., p. 214 ff.), or of mowing down visitors to a harvest field (*G.B.*<sup>3</sup> VII., p. 229 ff.), or of throwing people into fire (*G.B.*<sup>3</sup> X., pp. 110, 148, XI., p. 25). It probably here implies a specific incantation of water: 'Oh, water! be thou water of Avernus.' We

*Rép. peint. gr. rom.*, p. 241. 4; *Dar.* S. III., p. 1515, figs. 4783, 4784); and we can see from *Georgics* IV. 125 that Virgil was observant. In the same way love magic was not unknown in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era (*cf.* Delahaye, *Anal. Boll.* XXXIX., p. 322).  
<sup>2</sup> Clearly a survival from the Bronze Age (Samter, *Pauly-Wissowa* VI. 2489).

<sup>3</sup> He is followed, I find, by Lacerda in his note *ad loc.* (dated 1613). Penquitt's dissertation *De Didonis Vergilianae exitu* (Königsberg 1910) is not accessible to me.

possess one spell to change the nature of wine (*P. Lond.* 121. 644, Kenyon, vol. I., p. 105): σὺ εἰ οἶνος οὐκ εἰ οἶνος ἀλλ' ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. σὺ εἰ οἶνος οὐκ εἰ οἶνος ἀλλὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ὀσεύρου, τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ἰάω πακερβηθ. In *P. Leid.* V. (= J. 384) xii. 18 ff. (*Fleisch. Jahrb. Suppl.* XVI., p. 816) we have a list of substitutes for rare ingredients in magical preparations, as γάλα χοιριδίου for αἷμα Κρόνου. Here water, which is normally regarded as chthonic,<sup>1</sup> is made chthonic in an especial degree for the effective accomplishment of the rite.

A. D. NOCK.

NOTE ON AESCHYLUS, *PERSAE*, 929 f.

Ἄστια δὲ χθών, βασιλεὺ γαίας,  
αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἔπ' ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.

The anapaestic metre is restored by restoring the word of which ἐπὶ γόνυ is the marginal or interlinear explanation. Read . . . κέκλιται γυῖς.

T. G. TUCKER.

NOTES ON TACITUS, *AGRICOLA*.

7. 5:

'is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor teditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio.'

The whole context shows that this 'legatus praetorius' was merely 'weak' (so also Furneaux). I have therefore marked *seditione* as the faulty word, for which read *desidiose*.

31. 5:

(The Brigantes could have done more than they did, and suffered for their slackness, but)—'nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in paenitentiam, latari, primo statim congressu ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.'

Neither *bellaturi* (Koch) nor *arma latari* (Wex) has found general approval. I propose *rem . . . latari* ('resolved to carry the matter'), and, since *rem* would most easily fall out after *-tem*, suggest . . . *in libertatem <rem> . . . latari*.

33. 1:

'iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola,' etc.

The first clause refers to the Caledonians, the second to the Romans. To remove the awkwardness we should read . . . *simul <nostra> instruebatur . . .*, the cause of the omission of the word being obvious.

34. 3:

'novissimae res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis . . .'

To read *extremus metus* and bracket *aciem* is hardly legitimate emendation. Ritter reads *torpor* for *corpora*, and several critics have

suspected that the notion of *torpere* should appear to explain the ablative. I would insert *<torpentia>* before *corpora*—i.e. 'their extremity and the fact that their bodies are paralysed with fear have rooted their line on this spot.'

35. 3:

'ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per acclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent . . .'

No reasonable explanation of *velut* is forthcoming, *insurgerent* being literally true. I suggest 'velut *<in suggestum>* insurgerent.'

T. G. TUCKER.

CICERO, *AD FAM.* I. 1, 2.

Writing in January, 56 B.C., to Lentulus Spinther about the proposed restoration of Ptolemy Auletes, Cicero says: 'Marcellinum tibi esse iratum scis. Is hac regia causa excepta ceteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat accipimus; quod instituit referre de religione et saepe iam rettulit, ab eo deduci non potest.' The words *tibi iratum* have occasioned difficulty from very early times. Ancient conjectures were *regi* or *tibicini* for *tibi*. Boot accepted *tibicini*, as does Shuckburgh, 'for the unmeaning *tibi*.' Tyrrell and Purser say that either *iratum* or *tibi* 'must be unsound,' and suggest *gratum* or *non ingratum*. But, in my opinion, the text is correct as it stands.

In the first place, it is entirely in accordance with the facts of the case. Marcellinus was angry with Spinther—about this Ptolemy affair; for he and his party were jealous of Pompey, and thought that Spinther had played into his hands. Spinther was the foremost of those who had decided that the only way to save the Senate from the desperate situation of 59 and 58 B.C. was to make friends with the triumvirs and to undermine their alliance with the Popular party.<sup>2</sup> He pursued this policy consistently as Consul-designate and Consul,<sup>3</sup> and the high-water mark of his success was reached in the autumn of 57, when on the one hand Cicero and the 'Republic' were restored, on the other the Senate voted to Pompey the five years' corn commission at the instance of Spinther,<sup>4</sup> to Caesar a supplication of fifteen days on the motion of Cicero.<sup>5</sup> So in *Fam.* I. 9. 14 we read: 'Recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo . . . Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adiuncto, cum etiam Caesar, rebus maximis gestis, singularibus ornatus et novis honoribus ac iudiciis Senatus, ad auctoritatem eius ordinis adiungeretur. . . .' The Senate, however, were not altogether grateful for being saved, and, headed by the Consul Marcellinus,<sup>6</sup> looked with

<sup>2</sup> A fact of some importance which appears to receive little or no attention in our commentaries. To a considerable degree it gives the key to Cicero's policy *post reditum*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Pro Sestio*, §§ 70, 107.

<sup>4</sup> *Att.* IV. 1. 7; *Fam.* I. 1. 3: 'Quod eum ornasti.'

<sup>5</sup> *Pro Balbo*, 61.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Q. Fr.* II. 4. 5: 'Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi quidem non satis facit quod eum

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers*, 1921 (*Philolog. Suppl.*, Bd. XIV. 11).



the deepest suspicion on Pompey and on his manoeuvres, especially as regards the Egyptian question; and suspected Spinther, who had shown so friendly a disposition towards Pompey, of acting in collusion with him. Consequently, Marcellinus was angry with Spinther about this Egyptian business, and Spinther knew it well enough, for Marcellinus had engineered the religious obstruction to the whole scheme,<sup>1</sup> a scheme very dear to his heart. There is ample evidence for this state of affairs:

(a) *Fam.* I. 1. 3: 'Omniumque Pompeii familiarium studium in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt ut Pompeius cupere videatur; cui qui nolunt, iidem tibi' (Spinther) 'quod cum ornasti, non sunt amici.'

(b) *Fam.* I. 4. 2: 'Nomen inductum fictae religionis non tam ut te impediret quam ut ne quis propter exercitus cupidinem Alexandriam vellet ire.'

(c) *Fam.* I. 1. 2: 'Quod instituit' (Marcellinus) 'referre de religione.'

(d) *Fam.* I. 2. 2: 'Consules' (Philippus and Marcellinus) 'neque concedebant neque repugnabant; diem consumi volebant . . . perspiciebant enim in Hortensi sententiam' (that Spinther should carry out the restoration) 'multis partibus plures ituros.'

Secondly, as regards the phrasing of the sentence, no difficulty would ever have been felt had Cicero written, 'Marcellinum de hac regia causa tibi esse iratum scis. Is ceteris in rebus . . .', etc. But the letter deals exclusively with the Ptolemy affair—called simply *tua causa* in § 1—and in mentioning the opposition of Marcellinus there was clearly no necessity for Cicero to explain exactly in what respect Marcellinus was angry. *Verbum sapienti sat*. In passing on, however, from *iratum esse scis* to *acerrimum defensorem fore ostendit*, the writer has thrown in that explanation in the second clause as a matter of style to ease the abruptness of the transition. Again, no difficulty would ever have been felt had Cicero written, 'Marcellinum tibi esse iratum scis, sed is hac regia causa excepta . . .', etc. But there is a good reason for the asyndeton, and no awkwardness, I think, is felt if only the sentence is regarded as a whole. For the four clauses of the period are arranged in 'chiasmus,' so that the first corresponds with the fourth and the second with the third;<sup>2</sup> on the one hand the two pairs are each mutually explanatory, on the other a conjunction between the first and second clause would impair the balance of the arrangement.

The whole passage, it may be remarked, is written in a very formal style; for just as the ideas of this sentence are set down in 'chiasmus,' so are the words of the preceding:

'Cum summa <sup>1</sup>testificatione tuorum in <sup>2</sup>se officiorum et amoris erga te sui. Marcellinum

(Pompeium) nimis aspere tractat, quamquam id Senatu non invito facit.'

<sup>1</sup> Possibly also as Consul-designate M. had expressed his disapprobation in the Senate, when the question was first mooted.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Liddell and Scott, s.v. *χασμός*.

tibi esse iratum scis. Is hac regia causa  
excepta . . . acerrimum tui defensorem fore  
ostendit. Quod dat accipimus; quod instituit  
referre de religione . . . ab eo deduci non  
potest.' The proposed emendations then would affect adversely both the sense and the balance of the sentence.

L. G. POCOCK.

#### NOTE ON JUVENAL III. 13-16.

Nunc sacri fontis nemus ac delubra locantur  
Iudaeis quorum cophinus faenumque supellex,  
omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est  
arbor et eiectis mendicat silua Camenis.

THE difficulties in the interpretation of this passage are well known. Professor Sturtevant's explanation<sup>3</sup> seems to me very plausible. He thinks that as carts were loaded and unloaded near the Porta Capena 'the spot was analogous to a modern railway station.' So the grove of Egeria near by would be a natural haunt for pedlars, and he thinks the *merces* was a license fee paid into the *aerarium* for the privilege of selling wares in the sacred grove. 'The *cophinus*, then, was used to hold their wares, and the hay served as a seat.' It is this last point that I wish to dispute, in view of Martial III. 47. 13-14:

Nec feriatu ibat ante carrucam  
sed tuta faeno cursor oua portabat.

The eggs were packed in hay to keep them from breaking; so did not the pedlars also in the grove of Egeria pack their wares in hay, a substitute for the modern straw, 'excelsior,' or paper? Mr. Duff quotes this Martial passage on Juvenal XI. 70-71, 'tortoque calentia faeno | oua,' and says 'they were wrapped in hay for safe transport,' but he does not use it to explain Juvenal III. 14, or the similar passage, VI. 542-543:

cophino faenoque relicto  
arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem.

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#### 'NEMVS ANNAE PERENNAE.'

MR. E. H. ALTON points out that my interpretation of Mart. IV. 64, 16 has been anticipated by Schenkl (*Röm. Mitt.* XXXI, p. 211), and the views of that very respectable scholar blessed by Fehrle, by no means a contemptible authority on such matters. *Mea culpa*; I wrote without a file of the journal in question at hand, and had never read Schenkl's article. Out of this evil, however, cometh a certain amount of good; for, to my thinking, any theory is much strengthened when two students hit upon it independently.

With Mr. Alton's further statement that this interpretation refers to something so unpleasant

<sup>3</sup> *American Journal of Philology*, 32 (1911), pp. 322-323.

that it 'spoils the passage and results in bathos' I do not agree. Martial is describing, point by point, a view from the *Janiculum*. According to Schenkl and me, he names 'Anna Perenna's grove, where that odd magical ceremony was performed.' According to Mr. Alton, who would read *Virgineo rigore* for *uirgineo cruore*, he speaks of 'Anna Perenna's grove, which is near the waterworks.' I really fail to see wherein one is more poetical than the other. As to the unpleasantness and indecency of the rite, all that was necessary was for a young girl completely dressed save for her hair-ribbon, sash, and shoes, to walk around or through the plot of land to be protected. This much the eye of flesh saw; the eye of faith perceived heaps of dead caterpillars after she had passed.

The non-Italian character of the procedure is no evidence against it. It was supposed to be a sound piece of agriculture, an equivalent of spraying the trees with disinfectant. Very likely the permission of some representative of the College of Pontiffs had to be obtained; Domitian himself would have the last word in the matter as Pontifex Maximus. Who the authorities immediately in charge of the *nemus* were I cannot find out. But if the case were

carried to the highest ecclesiastical court, would Domitian, who allowed the *flamen Dialis* to divorce his wife, be likely to make much trouble about an innovation of this kind, which involved neither carrying iron into the grove nor doing any work there?

But Mr. Alton puzzles me altogether by his suggestion that, if I do not misunderstand him, the grove of Anna Perenna may have been 'the tree-clad slopes of the Pincio.' Does he mean this literally? If so, what proof has he, allowing that the Pincian was tree-clad in antiquity, that Anna's *nemus* was there? Certainly, though its exact site is not precisely known, one supposes that it was near the scene of the March festival, and therefore *haud procul a ripis, aduena Thybrî, tuis* (Ovid, *Fasti* III. 524). If he is not to be taken literally, he seems to contend that a wooded slope not far from the site consecrated to Anna could, by metonymy, be called her grove; which is like saying that the Bank of England might be called St. Paul's Church, because it is a building and no great way from the Cathedral. On the whole, therefore, I prefer to keep to Schenkl's 'bathos' and my own rather than alter the text, however plausibly, with Mr. Alton. H. J. ROSE.

## REVIEWS

### SOME TRANSLATIONS.

*The Choephoroe of Aeschylus*, translated into English rhyming verse by GILBERT MURRAY; *Aeschylus: Agamemnon, Choephoroe, Eumenides*, rendered into English verse by G. M. COOKSON; *The Birds of Aristophanes*, as arranged for performance in the original Greek at Cambridge, translated by J. T. SHEPPARD; *The Cyclops*, freely translated and adapted for performance in English from the satyric drama of Euripides by J. T. SHEPPARD; *Thirty-two Passages from the Odyssey in English Rhymed Verse*, by C. D. LOCOCK; *The Girdle of Aphrodite: The Complete Love Poems of the Palatine Anthology*, translated by F. A. WRIGHT; *The Soul of the Anthology*, by W. C. LAWTON.

*The Aeneid of Virgil*, translated by CHARLES J. BILLSON; *Some Poems of Catullus*, translated, with an Introduction, by J. F. SYMONS-JEUNE.

*Greek and Latin Anthology thought into English Verse*, by WILLIAM STEBBING, M.A. Part I.: *Greek Masterpieces*; Part II.: *Latin Masterpieces*; Part III.: *Greek Epigrams and Sappho*.

THE flood of translations from Greek and Latin poetry shows no sign of abating, in spite of the fact that most translators are agreed as to the impossibility of their task. The late Dr. Walter Headlam was exceptional in confining the word 'untranslatable' to cases where the translator's language lacked a native form and manner corresponding to the original. We have no native Homer or Pindar, and therefore we can have no verse translation of either. For Aeschylus and Sophocles we have the Elizabethan dramatists and Milton: 'there we have the instrument, and only want the player's touch.' This comforting assurance does not take us very far. It does not touch the real difficulty—that of transferring poetry from one language to another; in Dante's words, '*senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza e armonia*.' Some languages are marble, others are whinstone; but even when the quality of the building material is approximately adequate, the interfusion of thought and form, which is the essence of poetry, vanishes in translation. As

Shelley said: 'Even the volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translation, and the reader is surprised to find a *caput mortuum*.' There is a sense, indeed, in which exact translation even from prose is next to impossible, except perhaps in the case of railway time-tables, for few words in one language are exactly concentric with their nearest equivalents in another, and in any given pair there is nearly always diversity of association. In translation from poetry, how are we to reproduce vowel colour and the musical *accompaniment* to the thought, that far subtler thing than the adaptation of sound to sense? English is not so very different from Scotch as a language, but who will give in English 'the metallic resonance' of 'Willy brewed a peck o' maut,' or transfer from the original Burns' 'Violets bathed i' the weel o' the morn'?

But although the ideal translation is a union of literality with fidelity, may we not have fidelity without literality? This fancied possibility seems the inspiration of many modern renderings in verse from the classic poets. It is admitted that the result is not the same, but it may be a kind of equivalent; it may attain Rossetti's aim of 'endowing a fresh nation as far as possible with one more possession of beauty.' It must be confessed that this imagining too often proves a snare, 'a chimerical, insolent hope.' The cunning restraint of the Greek, for example, which produces a far greater reverberation of feeling than if all were said outright, gives us a miserably flat result in a close literal rendering. The translator finds that the enchantment, the glory, is gone, and feels the need of working the thing up, of intensifying it, and raising it a power or two by a process of literary involution. Once started on this course, he may go to all lengths of profligacy; he is like Aristotle's bad flute-players, *ἐλκοντες τὸν κορυφαῖον ἀν Σκύλλαν αὐλῶσιν*. The eighteenth-century translators were the worst offenders in this way. Even Dryden, besides claiming the right of cutting out what 'would not appear so *shining* in the English, although beautiful in the Greek or Latin,' would add to his

version what was either '*secretly* in the poet, or might *fairly be deduced* from him; or at least, if both these considerations should fail, what was of a piece with his, or what, if he were living and an Englishman, was such as he *would probably have written*.' But where is this licence to end? Who is to set limits to this intrusion of the translator's personality? Much of the dialogue in Euripides is flat and colourless; on Dryden's principle it may be treated as a blank cheque, to be filled up at the translator's pleasure. But in this case where are we? We are adrift in a rudderless ship. We may sympathise with the translator's discontent and despair over his unintensified version; but surely there must be some limit to the means permissible for the attainment of values, some laws of the game.

There seem to be two questions that have to be faced in judging of a translation from a poetic original: 'Can we grant the means or conditions which the translator has proposed to himself for securing a kind of equivalence?' And next: 'How far has he satisfied his own conditions?' The task of translating Aeschylus is in one way more straightforward and simple than the problem presented by the elusiveness of Sophocles, and the restraint—if it be always restraint—of Euripides. It is a case of rising to the height of the argument, and in the versions of Professor Murray and Mr. Cookson there is much to commend. The magic lines are of course beyond either of them. But take the question of rhyme in the dialogue as employed by Professor Murray. If it be of the nature of a makeweight or equivalent, it seems a very doubtful means. At the best it must be meant for the reader, and not for the stage. On the stage one is not very conscious of rhyme; the actors indeed seem to use ingenuity in dodging it lest it should be prominent. What may be an *ἐγκαλλώπισμα* in the study is a positive obstruction when the lines are spoken in the theatre. Mr. Cookson again has great vigour, but his work is not improved by one of his means of equivalence. To get at τὸ *ξενικόν* he uses rare and 'made' words. Even for the reader the effect of these is

more than doubtful; on the stage they would almost certainly miss their mark. The feeling, too, is sometimes lost. 'With eye-glance piteous, *arrowily* keen,' is not happy for ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῦ βέλει φιλοϊκῶς. The stage test again is a desperately severe one for verse on its formal side. What passes muster in the study will sometimes not 'speak.' From this point of view we are not certain of a line like Professor Murray's: 'And sure she shore it not that wrought his death.' He has bestowed great pains on the antistrophic correspondence of the choral odes, and achieved a marvellous success without the help of padding or βακχεῖα τῶν λόγων in that part of his work; but for all that it rends convention, is not the Old Testament version of the *Agamemnon* odes by Professor Platt really closer to the spirit of Aeschylus, the Greek preacher of righteousness?

Good judges, accustomed to the production of Greek plays in English, have given their assurance that Mr. Shepard's *Birds* and *Cyclops* would not fail 'to get across,' as the saying is; and perhaps testimony like this should put a mere reader's testimony out of court. What higher praise could be accorded? Even more than the translator of tragedy, he who is similarly concerned with comedy takes his life in his hands. The first may produce an impression resembling in a way that of the original, but something more definite is demanded of the second. He must make us laugh. The reader approaching these versions, as he does, in cold blood may admit their vigour, their cleverness, and the fine swing of the lines, but may yet question the wisdom of so copious a use of slang. Slang is in its nature evanescent, and its odour when stale is unpleasant. 'Triballians—Because they're bally tribal gods, eh, what?' is not only in doubtful taste, but will assuredly want an explanatory note before long.

The lure of the Greek *Anthology* continues to claim its victims. Mr. Wright exhibits competent skill in versification, and his work satisfies his own test to the full; 'it can be read aloud without offending the ear.' But the theory of modern equivalents is pushed absurdly, indeed offensively, far

in things like 'Slap-dash Moll,' 'At Brown's to tea,' 'The dark-eyed Colleen,' and 'Hely' for Heliodora! Mr. Lawton in the *Soul of the Anthology*, a palinode it appears for the writer's inadequate treatment of the *Anthology* in his *Introduction to Greek Literature*, does not offend in this way. He plays the game as it was consummately played by Andrew Lang. But that he cannot boast of Lang's sure and exquisite touch may be seen by a comparison of the two translators' renderings of the Δάκρυνά σοι καὶ νέρθε . . . A great variety of metre is employed, but it is not always easy to see what has dictated the choice in any given epigram. An occasional experiment in English elegiacs is not too successful.

Mr. Billson's metrical version of the *Aeneid* and Mr. C. D. Locock's translation of thirty-two passages of the *Odyssey* are on conventional lines. Their general effect is pleasing. There is no violent departure from the originals to attain equivalents; the authors rely on a generally competent verse technique. Mr. Symons-Jeune has set himself the hard task of translating Catullus, 'if not word for word, yet, with the exception of one ode, all but line for line.' He has also tried to give a metrical equivalence to the original poems, in that he uses lines and stanzas of approximately the same length, weight, and rhythm. To appreciate a *tour de force* of this kind one must know Catullus well; it is obviously thrown away on the unlearned or the half-learned, for whom translations are perhaps of most service. These care for nothing but the general result. He is best in the lighter pieces; he hardly rises to the note of things like the *Si qua recordanti*, nor will his *Hymn to Diana* rob Jebb's version of its supremacy.

Mr. Stebbing's three volumes of a *Greek and Latin Anthology* do not for the most part fall under the category of translations. They are a poetical commentary on passages ranging in Greek from Homer to Apollonius Rhodius and the writers of the *Anthology*, and in Latin from Catullus to Claudian. There is no limit of length set to these expansions: the five lines of *The Dying Hadrian to his Soul* appear as a hundred

and twenty-eight. The introductory chapters of 'Characteristics' prefaced to each writer will be read with interest. The author has so frankly explained

the novel aim of his work that we must take it as it stands, and hope that it may aid in directing attention to the spirit of the classic writers.

J. HARROWER.

### HIPPOCRATES.

*Hippocrates.* With English Translation by W. H. S. JONES, St. Catherine's College, Cambridge (Loeb Classical Library.) Vol. II. Pp. lvi + 336: London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923.

*Hippocrates and his Successors in Relation to the Philosophy of their Time.* By R. O. MOON, M.D., F.R.C.P. The Fitzpatrick Lectures, R.C.P., 1921-22. London: Longmans, 1923. 6s.

IN a review of the first volume of the Loeb translation I said that the work was more than a convenient English rendering of a memorable collection of ancient medical writings for the medical and general reader; that it promised also to take rank as a new edition of the Hippocratic Canon. In this second volume the promise is maintained; and in due time no doubt will be fulfilled. As a grammarian I have no claim to speak; but on some familiarity with scholarly books I may say that in respect of scholarship, including strict textual revision, Mr. Jones' work seems to me to be in the first rank. Photography has made it possible for the student to widen the range of his collations; and Mr. Jones, while recognising the recent labours of Kühlewein and Wilamowitz, has made a wide collation of his own, and presents an independent text. Mr. Jones has many opportunities of pointing out that to attain a correct reading is more than guessing riddles; that it is often the only way to interpret a sentence which may untie a knot of meanings.

The translation is quite good; nervous, idiomatic, felicitous, and close to the original. If here and there a reader might desire another word or phrase such places are few.<sup>1</sup> What I can testify is to Mr. Jones' competence as a translator of medical language and

<sup>1</sup> The best translation of φλέβες is 'blood-vessels.'

ways of thought, so as, like Littré, Daremberg, Adams, Greenhill, to interpret his text with technical discernment.

The treatises in this volume are *Prognostic*, *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, *Sacred Disease*, *Art*, 'Breaths,' *Law*, *Decorum*, *Physician* (Chap. I.) *Dentition*. Prefixed are nine introductory essays: on prognosis, on the Cnidian School; on the prognostic and the aphoristic books; on ancient nursing and medical etiquette; on the art (π. τέχνης); on medical writings and laymen; on later philosophy and medicine, and on the MS. tradition of the Hippocratic Collection. And each several treatise has also its own preface. All these commentaries are full of points of interest, textual, interpretative and technical, on which one would gladly dwell; but I must be content to touch upon a few.

An interesting instance is the rendering of the title word 'Prognosis,' and its kin. But where, exclaims the modern physician, is our key word 'Diagnosis'? Herein Mr. Jones finds occasion to illustrate the breadth of the Greek survey of natural processes. We are apt to test the state of a science by its gain of foresight; we sum up series of events in 'laws' which signify the order of them, past and future; the present being but a point. A disease is a particular series of events recurring with fair uniformity; by a conceptual summary of each such series we hold a key to its course. Hippocrates, conscious of his ignorance of inward changes, those withdrawn from immediate sensory perception, taught that if the course of each disease were mapped out, if we had a good roadbook of diseases, it would suffice us. Sydenham held much the same position. Thus prognosis becomes something far beyond a good guess at the issue; it becomes the universal; diagnosis supplies the

means. Now hypotheses can be minted whether, for the testing of them, we have facts enough or not. If the prodigious Aristotle was the first great fact-collector, yet in their generations Hippocrates, and other natural observers about his time such as Alcmaeon, Pythagoras, Ctesias, Diocles and their like, had made some beginning; meanwhile geniuses had their fling in conjecture, and after roving uncontrolled ill brooked bit and bridle. But science, as Mr. Jones says, does not soar but crawls. There are more ways than one of driving nature out into the open.

In the *π. φυσῶν* we have one of the sophistic puffballs; and Mr. Jones, while saying for it a few words kinder than mine have been, alludes to the large sophistical element in the Hippocratic Collection as a whole. But, as I have said before, the sophistical quality at that time signified what we now call 'a University education.' He is disposed to the recent opinion that the Collection was the library (or a part of it) of the Coan School, and suggests that the windier essays may have crept in as presentation copies from sophistic admirers. I have surmised elsewhere that such exercises, or some of them such as the *π. τέχνης*—which Mr. Jones is disposed to attribute to Hippias—may be examples of competitive addresses of candidates for public medical services. We know that public addresses were a part of these competitions. As to *ἰδέα* and *εἶδος*, we know that the full Platonic signification of these words ruled until the time of Aristotle, and even into the earlier teaching of the Stagirite himself.

If the Cnidian methods, which Mr. Jones seems to me to estimate a little too generously, if the Cnidian School disregarded these provisional constructions, and registered events rather by simple enumeration, and cases were all individualised, if thus they made mincemeat of nosology, comprehension or prognosis was scattered. In my view their fault was not 'meticulous classification,' but that they did not classify. However we know next to nothing directly of the Cnidian noso-

logy; we have but scraps of the *Sentences* in Galen, and perhaps a few more in Rufus. Notwithstanding, Mr. Jones, in his formal and incidental discussion of Cnidian and Coan polemics, is so sound and fair that I will not cavil about measure; he is at least as likely to be right as I am.

Here we may rest a moment to admire that Greek moderation which sometimes chafes us a little. As Mr. Jones says, 'the negative (Coan) side of medicine was far more prominent than the positive.' Hinder nature as little as possible; bear in mind that man is a system of habits, and make no brusque changes in his diet or regimen; but above all do no harm. How different from the later Dogmatics, and from Galenism with its peccant humours—toxins as we call them—to be cast out, its plethora to be evacuated, its poisons to be annulled by theriacs, its cuppings, venesections and counterirritants, its polypharmacy! And the great Galen was himself no little of a galenist. In Alexandria the Dogmatics, perhaps under Egyptian influences, strayed far away from their first master, and the Herophileans were tempted to officious therapeutics; for when in Rome Asclepiades, a disciple of Erasistratus, deprecated violent therapeutics, it was counted to him as time-serving; yet he was but obeying the solemn injunctions of Hippocrates himself.

As regards the *Sacred Disease* (epilepsy and its congeners), Mr. Jones suggests that it may have been written by a pupil of the Master of the *Airs, Waters, and Places*. There are some weak spots in the *Sacred Disease*, and Mr. Jones has made me better aware of some of them; still it is a noble tract; and I cannot think that its great passages are but echoes of a master; surely the passion of them flowed through the hand and pen of the very writer; 'little by little the grandeur of the main theme, the uniformity of nature, every aspect of which is equally divine, grips the attention; we realise that we are in contact with a great mind'—these are Mr. Jones' own words, and I will not compete with them. Let us remember the judgment of a modern scholar that 'Alexandrian prose

perished because the writers were in-different to style.'

On what may be called the 'etiquette books' Mr. Jones makes some interesting reflections, but these I will pass by as he has dealt with the subject more fully in an article in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. XXI., pp. 11-17, 1923.

The notes are apt and brief, and a few interesting asides are to be found in a postscript.

There is some injustice in leaving Dr. Moon's volume to a short final paragraph. It does not pretend to be a work of original research, but a summary view of medicine and philosophy and their mutual relations from early times to about the second century A.D. His sources are duly acknowledged. Galen, who was physician and philosopher in himself, is omitted, probably as being too big a figure to

get into the canvas. The author undertook no easy task in bringing together the salient features of wide ranges of human thought and practice, showing the origins of the ideas, and setting all forth with due concision, proportion and emphasis in the several parts. The issue is a very useful and readable book for the layman as well as for the physician, and gives a survey of its large subject not perhaps to be had elsewhere. The outlines have breadth without diffuseness, and many reflections are bright and pointed. In view of this main success minor faults or defects may well be overlooked; but the attributions of certain treatises—such as the π. φυσῶν (p. 53), the π. φύσιος ἀνθρώπου (p. 59), not to mention the π. ἀρχαίης ἱητρικῆς (p. 59)—to Hippocrates himself are not quite harmless slips of the pen.

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

#### MORE ABOUT THE LEGACY.

*The Legacy of the Ancient World.* By W. G. DE BURGH. Pp. xvi+462. London: Macdonald and Evans, 1924. 15s. net.

A GREEKLESS and un-Latined world is at least being given the opportunity of reading about antiquity; and among the many books that have appeared recently on the legacy this, by the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Reading, is not the least comprehensive nor the lightest. It covers the field of Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Hittites and Minoans, as well as Israel, Greece, and Rome, and 'the manner in which these several civilisations combined to influence the mediaeval and the modern world.' It is too much for a book of this size—long as it is. The general plan has not been well conceived. More than three-quarters of the book is occupied with an outline of 'achievements'; and much of this is political history. This leaves only some forty to fifty pages for the legacy in the Middle Ages and at the Renaissance—for the author feels impelled to add a chapter on progress and history in general, the value of a classical education, and the

like—while it is nothing like long enough for an adequate survey of those achievements. 'We have seen how effectively it (the Byzantine Empire) accomplished the herculean labour of defending the frontiers of civilisation against barbarism' is a sentence typical of many in the book; yet it is not true, for we have not been told how this was done, but only that it was done—and this, necessarily, in the briefest possible terms. Take these sentences (from a section on Hellenistic art)—not an unfair example:

'At Olympia may still be seen the *Hermes* of Praxiteles, a sculptor of the Athenian school, whose statues of the goddess Aphrodite created a new type of female beauty in art. Perhaps the most characteristic artistic development of the time was the rise of portraiture. Alexander sat frequently to the sculptor Lysippus and to the great Greek painter Apelles of Colophon. No paintings of this age have come down to us; but the features of the leading dynasty are preserved on a large number of gems and coins.'

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What is the value of that to one who knows or to one who does not know something of the subject? In the bibliography ('a selection of trustworthy English works, admittedly incomplete, but sufficient to start the reader on a closer study of the main topics handled in this volume'—Ure's *Origin of Tyranny* and Cornford's *Thucydides Mylthistoricus* are two such works), in this bibliography Mommsen is of course recommended. But to one who has read Mommsen—and Professor de Burgh has such students also in mind—the summary of Roman history here given is valueless; to one who has not, too short to be intelligible. It would have been far better to have assumed a working knowledge of antiquity (of Mommsen and of that parallel to Mommsen for Greek History which should, but does not, exist), and to have shown at far greater length how ancient civilisations affected the growth of the European world. One of the most interesting sections in the book is that on St. Thomas Aquinas; and it might have been much longer. In this case Professor de Burgh did not think it necessary to give a summary of mediaeval history for the benefit of the ignorant, and his book is none the worse in consequence. He has more to say about Plotinus than Plato, and is there more interesting; but the account of the early fathers—Origen, Athanasius, and the rest—is much too short and confusing.

The number of positive errors in the book is very small. It is not true that 'this much, at least, is certain, that late in the second millennium tall, yellow-haired, fair-complexioned warriors of Indo-European stock descended in suc-

cessive waves upon the Aegean world from the inland forests of the north'; nothing is more uncertain. It is not 'probable,' but wildly improbable, that Pisistratus' tyranny 'rested on the support of his employees in the mines of Southern Attica.' There is a curious mistake in the statement that 'new tragedies were presented at the spring festival of Dionysus, comedies at the Lenaea. At other festivals old plays were reproduced.' The *Monumentum Ancyranum* does not contain Augustus' account of his work 'up to the year 27.' But such errors are of no great importance. More significant is such a footnote as the following: 'One who lived as a private individual, keeping himself to himself, was despised as a useless member of society and termed an "idiot" (*idiôtes*, meaning a private person).' The meaning of this would appear to be that the Greeks called a private person a private person; its implication is false.

Professor de Burgh has not attempted a new interpretation of antiquity—on the contrary we meet with many old friends—the twentieth-century sanitation and fashions of Cnossus; 'satire is all our own'; *Graecia capta*, etc.; even 'neither holy nor Roman nor Empire.' His aim is to give a coherent view of ancient civilisation as a whole, as 'the study of antiquity is still overmuch confined within watertight compartments.' But this summary, not enlivened by any grace or vigour of style, makes, on the whole, a dull book; because its author, while willing enough to believe that his readers may have brains, will not believe that they have any knowledge.

A. W. GOMME.

### THE BUDÉ PLOTINUS.

*Plotin: Ennéades*. I. Texte établi et traduit par ÉMILE BRÉHIER. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1924. Paper.

THIS book gives promise of being a proper book, and disappoints in detail.

I. The Introduction is good. M. Bréhier uses with effect his wide knowledge of Philo and other post-Christian

philosophic writing, but wisely restricts himself within the limits of a translator, and makes no attempt to give a conspectus of the teaching of Plotinus. The first section gives what we know from Porphyry of the life of Plotinus in an admirable setting of the character of the times, and of Plotinus' school at Rome. The second and longest section deals with the literary character of the



*Enneads*. M. Bréhier recognises the difficulty of seeing through the Porphyrian redaction to the genuine Plotinian tradition, and takes account of the work of Heinemann and others who have endeavoured to prove interpolations and dislocations of chronological order; but he adheres to a very conservative position, and tends to minimise Porphyry's work. He rates the literary excellence of the *Enneads* more highly than most students of the author, pointing out parallels with the *Diatribē*, and holding that the various books are real discourses written down rather than summaries and lecture-notes. A final short section deals with manuscripts; it is perhaps a pity that he has not added a brief account of previous editions of the text.

II. The text will probably rank temporarily as the most convenient to work with, but this is not to say that it is a good text. M. Bréhier says, 'J'ai rétabli le texte des manuscrits, chaque fois qu'il me paraissait donner un sens:' a very hazardous proceeding when, as he admits, the manuscript tradition is late and bad: 'a sense' and sense do not always coincide, especially in so difficult a writer as Plotinus. Naturally he is himself sparing of conjectures. One I noticed which seems to me good: I. 8. 7, κοσμηθεῖσαν· ἀλλ' εἰ θεῶ τὸ πᾶν, where the manuscripts read κοσμηθεῖσαν εἰ θεῶτο· ἀλλά. Most are indifferent or bad; as, for instance, I. 8. 8, ὥσπερ τοῦ δεξαμένου ἐκείνου, where the MSS. read ὑπερ, not, as the *apparatus criticus* states, ὅπερ. M. Bréhier sometimes detects corruption without any attempt to remedy it—e.g. I. 6. 9 fin., where for ἡ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν πρῶτον θήσεται· πλὴν ἐκεῖ τὸ καλόν I should read ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν πρῶτον θεάσεται· τέλειον ἐκεῖ ἔχει τὸ καλόν. The *apparatus criticus* is on the whole satisfactory, but not always accurate or adequate. At I. 8. 4, δουλωσαμένῳ, A is quoted twice, once for its text and once for its correction; F, with almost exactly the same readings, only once. And it might have been added that Schröder, the most recent editor, accepts δουλωσάμενοι on quite good MS. authority; and that Ficinus translates 'quae servit.'

At I. 9. 1 it is left to the reader to infer that ἐξάξει is the MS. reading.

III. It cannot be said that the translation is well done. Two main difficulties beset the translator of Plotinus: How far is he to expand the telegraphic style of his author? and how far is he to aim at consistency of terms? In the first M. Bréhier has succeeded fairly well in steering a middle course between the diffuseness of Bouillet and the baldness of H. F. Müller. In the second, as is admissible for a translator whose text is on the opposite page, he preserves a steadfast regularity. For example, I. 6. 3, where εἶδος occurs four times in a few lines, and Mr. MacKenna translates 'Ideal form,' 'Ideal principle,' 'Idea,' 'Form,' M. Bréhier sticks as faithfully to 'Idée' as Bouillet to 'Forme.' He does not always translate his own text. On p. 101. 36 (I. 6. 3) he translates κεκραμένην as if it were κεκραμένη; and on p. 103. 17 reads with the MSS. δρίμεος πόθου, and translates δριμεῖς πόθους, which is Kirchhoff's emendation. Sometimes he fails to see the meaning of his text. In I. 6. 9 βάθρῳ, Wyttenbach's admirable emendation, continues the idea of the statue from the previous page, and should be rendered 'base,' not 'trône.' On p. 100. 14 'le courage sur un visage ferme' is a very bad misrendering of ἀνδρείαν βλοσυρὸν ἔχουσαν πρόσωπον, which of course means 'grim-faced courage'; at 109. 1 (I. 7. 1) the French takes leave of the Greek altogether, for M. Bréhier has not seen that τὸ οὐ πάντα ἐφίεται is really τὸ οὐ πάντα ἐφίεται. These instances are all taken from a few pages in one of the easier books, and they could be multiplied indefinitely. At best M. Bréhier's translation is a good approximation to the Greek, rarely an exact representation, and sometimes a misrepresentation of it. The book as a whole shows traces of hurried work. I note that on p. 95, n. 3, 'Mot du Banquet, 211b,' the reference should be 211c; and Plato's word is ἐπαναβασμοῖς, not the ἐπιβάθρα of Plotinus. This is typical of Plotinus' inaccuracy in citing Plato, and has a particular interest, since Gregory of Nyssa, in alluding to the same passage (*de Virginitate* III. 364c), uses the word ὑποβάθρα.

S. C. NEILL.

## A FRENCH EDITION OF THE ART OF LOVE.

*Ovide: L'Art d'Aimer.* Texte établi et traduit par HENRI BORNECQUE, Professeur de l'Université de Lille. Collection Budé. Pp. xi + 184. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres.'

Fr. 9.

THIS useful volume opens with a brief introduction, a feature of which is the contention that the *Ars Amatoria* is a parody of the technical treatises in vogue, *Ars Grammatica*, *Rhetorica*, and such like, the sort of parody that had been already attempted by Tibullus in his Art of Capturing the Fair (I. 4), and Horace in his Art of Legacy-hunting (*Sat.* II. 5). The translation is faced by the text, with a short *apparatus criticus* beneath, thus supplying a want long felt in the case of the *Ars Amatoria*, since in the editions of Merkel, Riese, and Ehwald the variants are awkwardly placed in the preface, while in that of Marchesi they stand at the end of the book.

The translation is close and spirited, and on the whole accurate, though there are occasional lapses. Thus I. 239 *tum pauper cornua sumit*, 'alors le pauvre se voit des cornes d'abondance,' means 'then the poor man shows daring'; Hor. *Carm.* III. 21, 18 *addis cornua pauperi*. II. 121 *nec levis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes cura sit*, 'ne considère pas comme un soin futile de cultiver ton intelligence par les arts libéraux,' means 'and it should be your no easy task to train your mind by liberal accomplishments'; Iuv. 7, 240 *non est leve tot puerorum observare manus*. II. 610 *nec cava vaesanis ictibus aera sonant*, 'ils ne s'accompagnent pas de coups frénétiquement frappés sur des sistres.' Here *aera* is mistranslated and *cava* omitted. The instruments are not the *sistra* of Isis, which were not *cava*, but the cymbals used in the worship of Cybele, called *cava cymbala* in Catull. 63, 29. III. 341 *nostri lege culta magistri carmina, quis partes instruit ille duas*. Here *culta* is construed as nominative singular feminine, 'si tu es vraiment une femme cultivée.' It of course agrees with *carmina* 'the elegant verses'; Tr. IV. 10, 50 *dum ferit Ausonia carmina culta lyra*. III. 437 *femina quid faciat,*

*cum sit vir levior ipsa?* 'que peut faire une femme contre un homme plus inconstant qu'elle?' Here *levior* is construed as *levior*. *Levior* means 'more effeminate,' 'licentious,' Pers. 1, 82.

Though based mainly on Ehwald and Marchesi M. Bornecque's text is independent, and contains one ingenious though not entirely convincing solution of a crux hitherto unsolved, I. 515 *lingula ne rigeat*, the conjecture of M. Martha for *lingua* or *linguam ne rigeat*, rendered 'que ta chaussure soit bien correctement nouée.' Cp. III. 444 *brevis in rugas lingula pressa suas*. Some other innovations are not so satisfactory. Thus I. 29 *usus opus movet hoc*, for *movet* is adopted *monet* from a few late MSS. But *movet* 'inspires' is more effective; Am. III. 12, 16 *ingenium movit sola Corinna meum*. I. 472 *tempore lenta pati frena docentur equi*. Here *lenta* is replaced by *dura*, a conjecture of Francius; but *lenta* is unimpeachable; Tr. IV. 6. 3 *tempore paret equus lentis animosus habenis*. II. 346 *quam, tu, dum capias, taedia nulla fuge*. Here *capiat* is printed, a mere conjecture of Burman, though this is not stated in the note. No alteration is necessary, but the punctuation given above is required, because *tu* belongs to the imperative; Hilberg, *Die Gesetze der Wortstellung im Pentameter des Ovid*, p. 201, 725. II. 521 *dicta erit isse foras, quam tu fortasse videres*. Here *quom* for *quam* is printed, a conjecture of M. Bornecque, apparently because of the subjunctive with *fortasse*. But, though rare, this is not unexampled; ex P. I. 1. 13 *novitate roges fortasse sub ipsa*, Plaut. *Pseud.* 888 *fortasse tu non caedas*. III. 440 *Troia maneret praeceptis, Priami, si foret usa tuis*. So reads M. Bornecque, and renders 'Troie subsisterait encore, si elle avait écouté tes conseils, fille de Priam.' As *Priami* could not stand for *Priami filia*, apparently it is intended as the vocative of the rare patronymic *Priamis*. But the lengthening of the final *i* of the Greek vocative, even at the pause of the caesura, is as impossible as that of the final *e* of the Latin vocative required by Marchesi's reading *Priame*. Both readings involve

a false quantity. Mr. Housman's *Priamis* gives better the desired sense; but can *Priamis* stand as vocative? Hardie's *Priami, praeceptis* (*Class. Quart.*, V. 106) involves an impossible lengthening of the first syllable of *Priami* (patronymic), to say nothing of the transposition of words. The truth was, I think, restored by Heinsius, *praeceptis Priami si foret usa sui*; Hilberg *l.c.* p. 252. Here Ovid, as often, follows an unusual legend, in which Priam advised the surrender of Helen. III. 672 appears as *Lemnias et gladios in mea fata dabo*, a conjecture of Heinsius, which involves the impossible elision of the final *t* of the Greek dative. The correct reading *Lemniasin gladios* was recovered by the other conjecture of Heinsius on *H.* 13, 137; Hilberg *l.c.* p. 189. III. 720 *et quia mens semper, quod timet, esse putat.*

Here the already discredited conjecture of Heinsius, *amans* for *mens* is printed. If Ovid, who never elides when he can avoid it, had used that word, he would have written *et quia semper amans*.

I have noticed a few mistakes and misprints. I. 513 *munditie* is due to Merkel, not Ehwald. I. 745 *qua*, attributed to Ehwald, is found in two of Marchesi's MSS. II. 381 *marita est*, attributed to Brandt, is the reading of our best MS. R. III. 242 *ad*, attributed to Burman, is the vulgate reading of the early printed editions. II. 540 note: there is a misprint: it should be 'orbe R.' III. 440 *tuis*, not *sui*, is the reading of R. Misprints are: p. 12, *Housma* for *Housman*; p. 43, note on 308, *quaedem* for *quaedam*; p. 54, l. 612, *hic* for *sic*; p. 62, l. 55 (translation), 'enore' for 'encore.'

S. G. OWEN.

### THE LOEB HISTORIA AUGUSTA.

*The Scriptores Historiae Augustae.* With an English translation by DAVID MAGIE, Ph.D. In three volumes. Vol. I.: Pp. xxxvii + 493. (The Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1922. Cloth, 10s. net.

DR. MAGIE is the author of a useful work on the Greek equivalents employed in the rendering of Roman titles and other technical terms of administration. In the preparation of the present volume he has received help from some of his colleagues, and is not to be held entirely accountable for such errors as have found their way into the translation. Thus in *Hadr.* 18. 1 *omnis* should be taken as accusative plural—i.e. 'whom the Senate had in every instance approved.' In *Marc. Ant.* 10. 11 *posce-ventur* refers to the appointment, not the 'indictment' of trustees. In the same biography (12. 1) for 'just as one acts in a free state' we should read 'just as had been done in the days of the free

Republic'; and the translation of cap. 14. 5 is quite wrong. In *Pert.* 7. 10 *proscripsit* does not mean 'outlawed,' but 'put up to auction.' These are blemishes which a careful revision might have removed.

There are two introductory sections, the first dealing with the scope and literary character of the *Historia Augusta*, the second with the tradition. Dr. Magie tells us in his preface that 'a discussion of its authorship and sources, and of the theories which have found in it a work of the fourth or early fifth century, has, for reasons of space, been reserved for the second volume.' Without such an enquiry the present introduction is of no great use, and might, in fact, prove misleading to unlearned readers. Criticism must, however, be deferred until the appearance of the promised discussion, which it is to be hoped will not long be delayed. H. STUART JONES.

### THE HELLENISTIC AGE.

*The Hellenistic Age: Aspects of Hellenistic Civilisation treated by* J. B. BURY, E. A. BARBER, EDWYN BEVAN, and W. W. TARN. One vol. Pp. ix + 151. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1923. 6s. net.

WHEN you open a book (prettily bound and well printed) containing three lectures by Barber, Bevan and Tarn, and an essay by Bury, the whole entitled *The Hellenistic Age*, you expect a good deal. The subject is promising

indeed, fresh and important; and the title gave one hopes of a general treatment by acknowledged masters. But, on the whole, this book is disappointing. For one thing, so much is left out. Professor Bury, for instance, discusses the question of the decadence of Greece in the third and second centuries (or rather, emphatically denies it); but he does not lay stress on the difference in political conditions between the fourth and the third. The year 323-2, if any in history, marks the end of an epoch; the death of Demosthenes being particularly significant, for though not personally great either intellectually or morally, he was the last representative of government by discussion; and this sort of government is one of man's great achievements, not greater if you like than government by soldier-kings, but certainly different. (Professor Bury is now ironical at its expense.) The fall of Athens in 262 (followed so soon by the death of Zeno—once more politics and philosophy coincide at Athens) marks the end of the hopeless struggle against conditions that had been decided sixty years before; this period, 322-262, being of especial interest, for in it small states are endeavouring still to keep their independence and play an important part in events, while great powers use them as pawns or crush them in their own struggles for mastery. This aspect is omitted by Professor Bury, though he emphasises the modernity of the Hellenistic age; and indeed (in my view) exaggerates it. For though in certain ways it is doubtless more modern than the fourth century—the large and crowded cities, the increase alike of luxury and poverty, the anarchy of thought—just as is Rome under the Principate—yet I doubt if a European of to-day would 'much sooner get used to his new surroundings, if they were in one of the great Greek cities founded by the Macedonians, than if he were cast into the Athens or Syracuse of a hundred years back.' For Plato could, after a time, somewhere, find himself at home in modern Europe (at least so we may still hope), as he would not have done in Alexandria or Antioch, any more than in Imperial Rome; and philosophy is

more significant than large cosmopolitan cities.

Again, Mr. Barber, in his essay on the literature of this period, practically omits its greatest figure. In a sense, of course, there is more to be said about Herodas and the new fragments of Callimachus than about Theocritus; but surely there is room for a new treatment of Theocritus (and Apollonius) in relation to the age, for an essay on the literature of the third century which shall be, within its limits, complete. As it is, Mr. Barber ends thus unhappily: 'to take one instance out of many—Ovid, except for Alexandria, could scarcely have written his *Metamorphoses*, and not only modern literature but modern art as well would have been the poorer for the loss.' I suppose so; but this is hardly a great monument to raise to an age which produced Theocritus. Even so, he is not very lucid: he appears to contrast Callimachus and Herodas in the range of their appeal, the public of the former being the cultured few, who 'took refuge in "art for art's sake,"' that of the latter the lower classes, who 'consoled themselves with the farcical and humorous, and with the frankly sensual—features which one or other of the various types of Mime was able to supply.' But if there is one Greek author whose appeal is to the few and the learned, one playwright who wrote for a Little Theatre, it is Herodas.

Mr. Bevan has an adequate chapter on Hellenistic philosophy, and is especially good on the Cynics and Epicureans; but much the most interesting of the essays is Mr. Tarn's on the Social Question. Whether it is that statistics have a special attraction for scholars who have but little familiarity with them (this refers not to Mr. Tarn, but his readers), or because they enter, unfortunately, so little into Greek history, whatever it is, his attempts to establish curves of prices and wages between 350 and 250 B.C. from the evidence, chiefly, of the Delian inscriptions, and thence to explain many of the troubles of Greece in the third century (wages by no means keeping pace with the rise in prices), are very interesting. It may perhaps be doubted if there is really enough evidence to

warrant even his tentative conclusions, and if it is right to argue from Delos to Sparta (Mr. Tarn concludes with the reforms of Agis and Cleomenes). But the attempt must be made; and Mr. Tarn's is one of the best of such, though it is a pity that he should suppose that it adds anything to the weight of the evidence to quote from Menander that a well-to-do man is 'one who can live without borrowing.'

Most of this criticism is a grumbling

complaint because the authors have not done what they did not set out to do. But we look for a more *important* book; perhaps these authors will yet give us one.

There is added to this book a useful appendix, containing a list of the more important objects (gems, vases, and an excellent statuette) in the Lewis Collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

A. W. GOMME.

### THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF BRITAIN.

*The Roman Occupation of Britain.* By F. HAVERFIELD. Revised by G. MACDONALD. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth. 18s. net.

WHEN Francis Haverfield died, nearly five years ago, he left behind him a vast collection of work, published and unpublished, dealing with Roman Britain. It was by no means the only subject in which he had made himself an expert; but it was a subject to which, as years went on, he had devoted an increasing proportion of his great energy, and in which he was everywhere accepted as the final authority. His published essays upon various matters connected with the subject ran into hundreds; and of this list many items were considerable in bulk and covered a large field; but he had never carried out the task of reviewing the main conclusions of all this labour in a single volume. Had he lived longer, he would have done so; for the lectures he delivered at Oxford on the Ford foundation in 1907 were designed to be a general discussion of Roman Britain, and he had already made some progress in revising these lectures for the press. This work has been completed by Dr. George Macdonald, and the result is the present volume, dedicated by the University of Oxford to the memory of William Camden, whose chair of history reached its tercentenary last year. The editor has spared no pains to bring the text up to date, and has added a short biography of Haverfield and a list of his published writings, which make the book at once a perfectly reliable guide to the present state of knowledge con-

cerning Roman Britain and a personal monument to the man who did more than any other to bring about that state. Haverfield, taking up the subject at the point to which it had been brought by a long line of 'local antiquaries,' found that the one thing needful in order to place it on a firmer basis was a comparison between Britain and the other provinces of the Empire, this being the one thing that our local antiquaries had been unable to accomplish: and therefore the mainspring of all his work was the interpretation of Roman Britain by reference to the Empire at large. 'One of his *obiter dicta*,' Dr. Macdonald reminds us, was that 'it is of no use to know about Roman Britain in particular unless you also know about the Roman Empire in general.' It was more than an *obiter dictum*, perhaps: it was the working principle that underlay all his inquiries and that underlies every page of this book. How fruitful it was in his hands no one can realise who is not accustomed to comparing his work with that of his predecessors in the same field; for instance, his work on epigraphy with Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale*. The main fruit of the principle, and in a sense the main doctrine that Haverfield taught, was the 'Romanisation' of Britain. Earlier antiquaries had tended to regard the Roman occupation of Britain as the control of a subject-race by an alien armed force: Haverfield, with his eyes opened by the analogy of other provinces, saw it as a period in which, with rapidity and with strangely little reluctance, Britain 'in speech and

literature, in fashions, in art and architecture, in short, in the whole fabric of the habits of life, adopted Roman ways: not by any influx of Italian settlers, not by the spread of a race, but 'by the influence of a higher civilisation on lower races fitted to assimilate it.' It is possible that, in this or that detail, Haverfield exaggerated the extent to which the Britons lost their Celtic civilisation in acquiring that of Rome. It is possible—and Dr. Macdonald himself, with scrupulous justice, points it out—that in such matters as religion the Briton remained a Briton at heart, even when he identi-

fied his own gods nominally with those of the Romans. But these details do not affect the value of the principle which Haverfield laid down, and they do not alter the fact that in this volume we at last possess what has long been needed, an authoritative and trustworthy guide to Romano-British history as a whole. Dr. Macdonald has already given us the standard work on the Antonine Wall; his piety towards the memory of a friend and his success in the difficult and responsible position of posthumous editor have now given us the standard work on Roman Britain.

R. G. COLLINGWOOD.

### BELOCH'S *GRIECHISCHE GESCHICHTE*.

*Griechische Geschichte*. By K. J. BELOCH. Vol. III., Part 2, Pp. x + 504. One Vol. One coloured map. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1923. 16 Marks (gold).

THE second instalment of Beloch, Vol. III., for which we have not had to wait long, forms a commentary upon the running text of the previous part, and consists of a series of detached monographs, mostly on pedigrees and time-tables. To those who are content with a mere window display of ready-made historical goods these monographs will not offer any attractions; but serious students who like to pry into the historian's workshop will derive from them an excellent object-lesson in assembling and digesting the materials for a large-scale history.

When materials prove refractory, Professor Beloch never fumbles, but at times tosses them away rather abruptly. He denies that King Cleombrotus took an army to Phocis in 374 B.C., although Xenophon, who was a contemporary and a competent observer of military movements, makes this statement twice over (pp. 236 ft.). He rejects Xenophon's further statement that Agesilaus' veteran corps covered the 500 miles from Sestos to Boeotia in less than a month (p. 217); yet this performance compares poorly with Roberts' march from Kabul to Kandahar. Despite Plutarch and Diodorus, he makes Alexander of Phrae into a son of Polydorus, simply because

Alexander avenged Polydorus' death (p. 81). He corrects the chronology of the Macedonian kings, invoking Synkellos against Herodotus, because Alexander I. and his son Perdiccas could not have reigned 85 years (p. 54); but a greater distance of time lies between the accession of Henry VIII. and the death of his daughter Elizabeth.

Conversely Professor Beloch seems unduly conservative in one or two cases. Instead of making his choice between Plutarch's and Callisthenes' estimates of Alexander's infantry force (30,000 and 40,000 men respectively), he explains away the difference by supposing that these authors rounded off an intermediate number in different directions (p. 323); and in his pedigree of the House of Macedon he retains Heracles 'the son of Barsine and Alexander.'

But this is mere dust in the scales. Of far greater moment are the numerous improvements upon the previous state of our knowledge which this book offers. We may here mention, *honoris causa*, the dating of the Sacred War by evidence drawn from the accounts of the *vaomoiol* at Delphi; the delimitation of the western satrapies of Persia; the researches into the constitution of Epirus, and of Sicily under Dionysius I. We would also draw attention to a new explanation of the Lion of Chaeroneia as a *Macedonian* memorial. This fits in well with the lion's victorious pose,

which forms an obvious contrast with Thorvaldsen's well-known memorial for Louis XVI.'s Swiss Guard. Moreover, whether Professor Beloch's arguments carry conviction or not, they are always based on sound first-hand knowledge of the sources, and are expressed in refreshingly clear and terse language.

In his opening chapters, which deal with the materials for fourth-century history, Professor Beloch refrains from the usual miracles in *Quellenforschung*. In regard to the Oxyrhynchus historian he effectively re-states the case for Cratippus and quite disposes of Theo-

pompus, but he deals too curtly with Ephorus.

Professor Beloch rounds off with two longer treatises on economics and statistics. On the question of population he makes out a strong case for reducing the traditional estimates of the Athenian citizen body and a convincing case against the alleged number of slaves in Attica. In his last chapter he demolishes Bücher's theory that the Greeks remained in the same stage of economic development as the Zulus,

praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto.

M. CARY.

### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GREECE.

*The Achievement of Greece: A Chapter in Human Experience.* By WILLIAM CHASE GREENE, Ph.D. Pp. viii + 334. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press, 1923. Price 16s.

THIS is one of the books on the Greek *Weltanschauung* which are written in increasing numbers to guide and stimulate the modern world in its search for instruction and inspiration from Greek life and literature. Presupposing some acquaintance with its subject it deals with the geographical setting, the history, the daily life, the literature and art, the political and moral ideals of Hellenic civilisation. The writer is sane and levelheaded; his general reading is wide; and he is not merely bent on writing a book, but, as his preface says, on a 'gradual approach to a personal attitude and a way of living' through the study of 'the achievement, in success and in failure, of the ancient Greeks.' The book justifies his claim and is a philosophy of life as well as a study of Greece. Professor Greene seems to us less happy in literature and art, because less personal and original in what he says on these subjects. He is at his best when he deals with philosophy and the Greek view of life: here he is interesting and suggestive. In dealing with the later philosophy he is brief, and he seems unacquainted with Bevan's brilliant *Stoics and Sceptics*, but his account of the general bearing of Platonism is as good as any we know.

There are some dubious judgments—e.g., 'Not before Plato do we find old age regarded as not wholly gloomy.' Does the portrait of Nestor or do the words of Solon bear this out? The view that the character of Oedipus is responsible for his tragedy spoils the play and is inconsistent with facts. And when Professor Greene writes 'the best hope that he (the Greek) could offer an unfortunate or sinful man who was in distress was that by the transmigration of souls he might in a new existence choose a better lot,' we wonder, even if he omitted words which I have italicised, how many passages he could produce where such a hope was offered. And Professor Greene has not escaped some of the dangers that beset the drawing of modern parallels: as when he says that Demosthenes 'trusted to the equivalent of a Monroe Doctrine,' or writes that some 'Greek artists worked in this way, unlike Rubens and Charles Dana Gibson.'

But every book that generalises and uses analogies with modern life offers handles to criticism such as these, and minor points of detail should not blind us to the merits of the book. It contains acute and just remarks, such as: 'the Greek towers above the law of the O.T. in his intellectual command of the problems of conduct'; or 'the danger of the Greek lies in too great exclusiveness and in pride of intellect; the danger of the Christian comes from indifference to personal effort and to all distinctions'

(the statement lends itself to debate, but a profound truth underlies it). And apart from isolated passages, the

book should be a help to students of Greek thought and to the cause which Professor Greene has at heart.

R. W. LIVINGSTONE.

### CAESAR AND HIS TIMES.

*Some Problems in Roman History.* Ten essays bearing on the administrative and legislative work of Julius Caesar. By E. G. HARDY, M.A., D.Litt., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford. Pp. xi+330. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1924. 18s. net.

*The Catilinarian Conspiracy in its Context.* A re-study of the evidence. By E. G. HARDY. Pp. 115. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1924. 7s. 6d. net.

THE gloomy forebodings uttered by Dr. Hardy in the preface to his edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* have happily proved false, and the very signal contributions to the study of Roman history which he has made in a remarkable series of articles are after all not to be entombed in the places of their publication. Thanks to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, all the more important with one exception are collected here in a single volume; and the one exception is the work issued as a separate monograph by Mr. Blackwell.

The larger of these two books opens with the paper called *Some Notable Iudicia Populi on Capital Charges*, which leads up to a discussion of Cicero's exile: thus it falls naturally together with other essays bearing on the years round about 63 and with the long re-study of the Catilinarian conspiracy. Dr. Hardy's views on this episode, and particularly on the inwardness of the *lex Servilia* and the trial of Rabirius, are not only well known but widely accepted; and though it is possible to raise doubts about the anxiety alleged to have been felt by Caesar and Crassus at the power of Pompeius, or to prefer the attitude of Dr. Rice Holmes towards Sallust's statements about the proposals of Catiline in the summer of 64, the papers here which deal with these years remain as satisfactory a guide as can be had to the politics of a period which is still in some respects obscure. On questions of political manoeuvre such as these Dr. Hardy indeed is always

interesting, but it is a legal issue which gives him his real opportunity; he has all Mommsen's enthusiasm for the nice distinctions of law, and a lucidity which Mommsen sometimes lacked in presenting his conclusions. Only on one point of first-class importance is the conviction he carries not complete. There is a question connected with the Catilinarian business which rarely, if ever, gets the consideration it deserves. What was the position on the morning of December 5, 63? Should we follow Sallust (supported by Appian and Cassius Dio) and believe that there was serious risk of a successful attempt to rescue the prisoners in Rome? Or should we rather accept the suggestion made by Cicero in the published form of the Fourth Invective—the suggestion that thanks to his efforts the danger was negligible, and that the Senate was giving a cool and considered opinion, in circumstances where nothing had happened either to compel or to justify a declaration that the laws had ceased to run? If Cicero is really to be preferred, well and good. But if not, the ingenuity which historians from Mommsen onwards have expended on the rights and wrongs of the unhappy consul seems somewhat misdirected. In spite of the late Dr. Plaumann we may still maintain that the 'last decree' was an intimation to the magistrates by the Senate that in its opinion a situation was likely to arise, as may happen even in states better governed than the Rome of Cicero's time, wherewith the ordinary provisions of the law would not be adequate to deal. Then, when such a situation does arise, the steps taken to meet it, if they are adequate, must from the nature of the case be at least non-legal; and to discuss their legality, as Professor Meyer has rightly said, is beside the point. As Cato saw, their only and sufficient justification is their expediency.



With the second essay—which is on *The Transpadane Question and the Alien Act of 65 or 64 B.C.*—there enters Mr. Nap, a scholar whose remarkable views have occupied at least as much of Dr. Hardy's time and space as they could rightly claim. Though it may not always be easy to accept the whole of Dr. Hardy's case, as when he attacks Mommsen's date for the provincialisation of Cisalpine Gaul, it is difficult to wish for anything more cogent than his treatment of Mr. Nap either in this article or in the seventh, which discusses what we may still call the *lex Rubria* of 49. Yet there is another chapter where Dr. Hardy's criticism has a worthier object and is more admirable still. The sixth paper is one than which no better is in the book—the paper, the value of which is permanent, on *Caesar's Legal Position in Gaul from 52 to 49 B.C.* On this difficult and inevitable question Dr. Hardy's argument, with its refutation of Hirschfeld and Judeich, together with Dr. Rice Holmes's examination of the still stranger theories lately propounded by Mr. Laqueur, are an achievement which British scholarship may be proud to set beside the modern extravagances of Teutonic aberration.

The last ninety odd pages of the book are devoted to the Table of Heraclea: first is the article in which Dr. Hardy stated his own views, and then follows his reply to the criticisms of Professor Reid. That the author has done well to republish these contributions there can

be no doubt. Some indeed may disagree on points of detail and refuse, for instance, to believe that the *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* belongs to the first consulship of Caesar, or that *municipium fundanum* means anything but the *municipium* of Fundi. Others again, risking the wrath which Dr. Hardy rightly reserves for those who hold 'all that is not German not germane,' may murmur a suspicion that Dr. von Premerstein has come nearer to giving a final account of this entertaining document than any of his predecessors. Yet still we have here as complete and convincing an argument as could be desired to one most vital conclusion, which is 'that there is a preponderance of probability throughout, and in many points a preponderance of actual evidence, in favour of attributing every provision contained in the inscription to the legislation of Caesar's dictatorship.'

Such in bare and meagre outline are two most valuable books, to which it is impossible to do justice within the limits of a review. No more, however, need be said of them than this—that they will worthily stand beside the other works of a scholar who, despite the heaviest of all handicaps wherewith nature can afflict a man, has played a foremost part in the advancement of his subject, and has produced results for which younger workers in the same field will be grateful as a guide and an example.

HUGH LAST.

#### ANATOLIAN STUDIES.

*Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay.* Edited by W. H. BUCKLER and W. M. CALDER. Pp. xxxviii + 479. Fourteen plates. Manchester: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 36s. net.

THIS well-edited and well-printed volume approves itself at the outset by a vivid portrait of the Master to whom it is dedicated, and a chronological list compiled by Miss A. M. Ramsay of his widely-scattered publications. The need of such a bibliography was felt even thirty-five years ago by M. Georges Perrot.

The book disarms the objection often urged against similar collections, that they bind together incongruous articles which would better have been distributed to diverse journals. The studies here presented gain a certain unity from their close relation to Sir William Ramsay's work, from their geographical connexion, and from the fact that they are mainly the products of the explorations and investigations of a particular time, just before the war. It must, however, be confessed that there is diversity enough among thirty-two essays on special points dispersed over

so large an area and so long a period. Only a Ramsay could review them all.

We have here three articles on the early languages of Asia Minor. Mr. Arkwright, confining himself to a field in which he knows every stone, builds a foundation which, in spite of his warning, seems to be secure for the interpretation of the Lycian epitaphs. Mr. Fraser, with scantier materials, seeks to establish the suggestions that Lydian is related to Etruscan, belongs to the same family as the Caucasian languages, and has been affected by Indogermanic influences. Mr. Sayce, ranging over the whole peninsula but concerned chiefly with Hittite and its neighbours, gives rein to his speculative genius.

Another trilogy deals with the history of Eastern Asia Minor before the Persian conquest. History is not a very hopeful enterprise when many of the places mentioned cannot be fixed within a hundred miles, cardinal dates may vary by more than a century, and (*e.g.*) 'such a syllable as *-ma* in a name may quite conceivably have been pronounced *wa* or *va*.' Where were Kissuwadna and Arzawa? When did Labarnas or Tlabarnas reign? Did Mazaca get its name from the Mushki? Is Mita really Midas? Does Candaules mean 'dog-throttler,' or simply 'son of Kanda'? Mr. Olmstead sets out to give 'a connected story' of relations between Assyria and Asia Minor in the ninth to seventh centuries B.C., but, although there are constant factors in it, the story resolves itself into a catalogue of occasional raids and detached episodes. The Assyrian records are sunlight to the obscurity of the Hittite documents, and Mr. Hall, dealing with the second millennium B.C., is often reduced to groping in the dark. Mr. Hogarth brings in fresh arguments from the geographical and stylistic grouping of the Hittite monuments, but their adjustment to the literary evidence remains largely conjectural.

Three other articles treat mainly of Pontus and the adjoining Roman provinces. M. Chapot judiciously discusses some of the nice questions, including that of the Pontic *koina*, involved in the determination of the north boundary

of Galatia at various dates. M. Cumont gives a masterly sketch of the policy which led the Roman emperors to annex Pontus, Polemoniacus and Armenia Minor, and comments on the Nicopolitan inscription which certifies us of an Armeniarch. Mr. Anderson applies Pontic and other data to the important problem of the time and place at which Strabo wrote his *Geography*. He makes a strong case for his conclusion that Strabo's work, already falling out of date in 6 B.C., was finished by 2 B.C., and only slightly revised many years later, and was composed neither at Amasia nor at Rome, but at some Greek city remote from both. Nevertheless, it is strange that Strabo should have attributed Neapolis and Pompeiopolis, hard by his birthplace, to the province of Pontus (from which he knew that they, at all events that Neapolis, had been divorced for over thirty years), if they had been assigned to Galatia on their reannexation to the empire in 6 B.C. The evidence for their incorporation into Galatia at that date imposes acquiescence, but it is still circumstantial, not direct, and Strabo's friends may still cherish a mental reservation in his favour. If Sebastia, attached apparently to Pontus Galaticus in 2 B.C., 'was restored to its old connexion' on the annexation of Polemoniacus in A.D. 64, is it impossible that Neapolis and Pompeiopolis may have been restored to Pontus on the annexation of Paphlagonia in 6 B.C., and transferred to Galatia at a later date? In another context Mr. Leaf, who contributes an account of Scepis in the Troad, vindicates Strabo's accuracy by a neat emendation, which removes an old difficulty in fixing the site. Not less ingenious is his use of the change from Aeolic A to Ionic H in the name of the city on its coinage.

Yet another triad of papers owes its origin to the American excavations at Sardis. Mr. D. M. Robinson publishes two epitaphs; the late Mr. H. C. Butler makes a very suggestive comparison between columns on high bases in the great temple at Sardis and the sculptured pedestals from the Artemisium at Ephesus; Mr. Buckler has a subject which will appeal to us all at the present

moment in his excellent discussion of labour disputes in the province of Asia, and particularly of the Sardian builders' trade union agreement, of which he gives a much improved text. To these Sardian studies may be appended Dr. Keil's statistical paper on the religious cults of Lydia, which he applies to illustrate the racial strata in the population, and with it M. Pace's chapter on the sanctuary and worship of Diana of Perga.

Among epigraphical articles by eminent authorities, the most notable are Professor Wilhelm's expert corrections of several important inscriptions (*e.g.*, the letter of Diogenes to Antipater at Oenoanda, the Cyzicene decree in honour of Antonia Tryphaena, the choragic inscriptions of Iasos), M. Haussoullier's audacious *tour de force* in restoring an inscription from Susa with reference to the family of Seleucus IV., and M. Grégoire's publication of three documents valuable for Byzantine history.

Mr. Calder's thoroughly competent and admirable study of the epigraphy of the Anatolian heresies brings us to the Christian category, in which it is the most solid and weighty contribution. Dr. Deissmann throws out the interesting suggestion of a kilometric test to decide whether S. Paul's Epistles of Captivity were addressed from Ephesus or from Rome. M. Salomon Reinach is not convincing in his interpretation of *τὰ ἀρχαία* in Ignatius' *Epist. ad Philadelph.* 8. M. Delahaye writes of Euchaïta and S. Theodore with equal erudition and charm.

Miss Ramsay illustrates the lattice screens and other objects represented

on Isaurian monuments, but their relation to ecclesiastical architecture seems very doubtful. Beside this rustic 'art' the bronze relief of Eros and Psyche from Amisus, published by Dr. Wiegand, appears to be a veritable *chef d'œuvre*!

Mr. E. S. G. Robinson shows that the archer on early coins of Soli is an Amazon. Mr. Hill, who supplements the British Museum catalogues of coins of South Asia Minor, recognises Mausollus (and Artemisia ?) on coins of Cos. Dr. Zahn is less successful in identifying Musa, wife of Phraates IV., on a ring at the Hague.

M. Rostovtzeff, in a clever essay, investigates the secret of the power and prosperity of the Pergamene kings. Many of his suggestions are acceptable, but he overestimates the resources of Mysia. Between the Cyzicene and the valley of the Caicus, between the plain of Thebe and the Tembris, there is little of value to exploit, and not much except timber in the interior of the Troad. The sources of the wealth of the Pergamene kings, so far as not derived from trade and exchange, are to be sought south and eastwards rather than north and westwards. Perhaps, after agency and banking, commerce and transport yielded their biggest revenue, and they seem to have aimed at securing control of the main outlets for the exports of Lydia and Phrygia. On this point M. Radet's proposal to put the Carian Eumenia in a pass north of Telmessus has some bearing.

If few scholars will appreciate all these studies, few will not find several to interest them.

J. A. R. MUNRO.

### STRABO ON THE TROAD.

*Strabo on the Troad.* Book XIII., Chap.

I. By WALTER LEAF. Pp. xlviii + 352. 20 plates and 8 maps. Cambridge: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 25s. net.

IN 1914 the Hellenic Society, at the call of Dr. Leaf, undertook the organisation of an edition of Strabo's description of Asia Minor (Books XII. to XIV. of his *Geography*) as a first instalment of 'such an edition of Strabo as should

focus the results of modern investigation and form the basis for far-reaching studies in social economics.' True as it is that two-thirds of the results of modern investigation in ancient Asia Minor concern the four centuries following Strabo's death, Strabo lived in time to see the Roman imperial system at work, and to grasp its meaning; and his text must be the starting-point of a systematic study of the economic and

political geography of Asia Minor under the Empire as well as in earlier periods.

If a review must be held to connote responsible criticism by a fellow-worker in the same field, no man alive is competent to review Dr. Leaf's contribution to his own scheme, which is appropriately devoted to Strabo's chapter on the Troad: appropriately, not only because Dr. Leaf is its author, but because the Troad is an Asia Minor *in parvo*. The reviewer must know his Homer by heart, must have looked carefully into the *Quellengeschichte* of Strabo, must be at home both in the local history of the Troad and in the history of its topographical and archaeological exploration, and had better have been over the country Strabo in hand. Such is Dr. Leaf's equipment for his task. In its execution he has divided his space judiciously between a geographical description of the Troad (all except the eastern portion from autopsy), a discussion of Strabo's sources for this chapter (from which it emerges that Strabo depended slavishly, if not always comfortably, on Demetrios of Skepsis, and did not always understand his guide's

description of a region unknown to himself), the Greek text of the chapter (based on Kramer, but reviewed in the light of fuller geographical knowledge: cf. *J.H.S.* XXXVII.), and a translation of each section accompanied by a commentary. In these commentaries we meet once more the familiar combination of scholar and man of affairs; discussions of Homeric topography or genealogy, and of Graeco-Roman inscriptions and coins, wise remarks on Greek geographical language, and criticisms of the text of Strabo, lead up to discoveries of modern geologists and mining engineers, the *Black Sea Pilot*, even (p. 248) the bursting of thermometers; and we carry away a clear impression of the facts of geography which help to shape history.

It has been Dr. Leaf's good fortune to be at once the author and the ἀρχὴ κινήσεως of much fruitful work in the Homeric field. In the edition of Strabo which the future will assuredly bring forth, his collaborators will do well if they build worthily of the foundations so truly and so massively laid in this volume.

W. M. CALDER.

#### A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

*Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit.* Von Hermann Dessau. Erster Band. Bis zum ersten Thronwechsel. One vol. Pp. 585. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924. 18 Marks.

THE time is over-ripe for a new history of the Roman Empire, and every one who is familiar with Professor Dessau's work will take up his first volume with lively expectation. No man is better fitted by fulness of exact knowledge, won by lifelong devotion, to undertake the task. It is a task before the magnitude of which most men would recoil: the more honour to the scholar who has not been deterred by the stupendous mass of material with which the historian of the Empire has now to deal.

The reader, however, will be somewhat puzzled by the book. It is planned on a large scale. Though the reign of Augustus is bound to occupy a disproportionate space, nearly 600 pages

for forty-four years (and even so, as we shall see, the picture is hardly complete) indicate that the finished work will run into many volumes. Yet a cursory glance shows that there is disappointingly little in the way of documentation, and the careful reader will soon find himself disconcerted by the absence of references, or even of adequate argument, in support of many categorical statements. He will find also that the extremely sparing use of notes leads to the annoying and inartistic insertion of parentheses, of sometimes twenty or thirty lines in length. He may sigh over the present-day expense of printing, which he must assume to be the cause; but, as he proceeds, he will find that he is not expected to have a school-boy's understanding of such elementary things as the meaning of *lictors*, *proconsul*, *grammaticus*, *pentereis*, and the like. He will find, too, a studied avoidance of Latin terms and titles, which are

translated or paraphrased for his benefit.

In all this, no doubt, Professor Dessau has been obeying, not his own instinct, but the instructions of his publishers. That still leaves us wondering. The publishers must have had some particular 'market' in view. For what class of readers, then, is this history of the Empire intended? There is not a word by way of preface to enlighten us. We may suppose that it is designed to fill the place of Mommsen's unwritten fourth volume (though it appears that the provinces are also to be treated). Even so, it was unfortunate that the fundamental defect of Mommsen's history should be repeated; and for the general reader the narrative is too long and too detailed, and the style rather too austere.

The book is divided into six chapters: a sketch of the rise of Augustus and of the situation in 30 B.C. (14 pp.), the founding of the imperial system of government (48 pp.), Augustus' administration, including the reform of morals, the Senate and the magistracies, finance, the army, and the capital (297 pp.), the defence and extension of the Empire (93 pp.), the imperial family and the succession (32 pp.), and the Emperor's relations to literary men and movements (101 pp.). As might be expected, the exposition is thoroughly scholarly, *gründlich* and *inhaltsreich*. While in general prudently conservative and free from the tendency to be blown about by every new wind of doctrine (apt sometimes in these days to assume extravagant forms), the narrative shows throughout careful and independent judgment and offers not a few fresh points of view. Not infrequently, and usually with good grounds, the author dissents from the conclusions of his own master Mommsen. Thus he very rightly throws overboard the theory of Dyarchy (a strange misspelling followed by most later scholars, to say nothing of our politicians and officials) as inapplicable to the political reconstruction of Augustus, or again the view that the use made by the Emperor of committees of the Senate indicated an earnest endeavour to give

that body an effective influence on the administration of public affairs. The whole subject of the Senate (like that of the magistracies, which might perhaps have been dealt with more briefly) is well treated, and the conclusion that it was little better than a puppet-show, though it retained prestige and even usefulness for centuries, will not provoke dissent. The other departments of administration are described with similar thoroughness. But throughout there are too many *ex cathedra* statements, of which it might not unfairly be said that they are insufficiently argued or not argued at all. When in Tacitus' somewhat obscure characterisation, *posito IIIviri nomine consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum*, the *et* is explained as *et mox* (in 23 B.C.), 'which Tacitus indeed might have said but did not need to say,' we have an interpretation which one would wish to see justified by similar usage on the author's part. Proof, too, is required of the view that in 27 B.C. the whole of Spain went to Augustus and that Further Spain remained undivided for decades in his hands (pp. 33, 188), a view which was put forward in the commentary to *Inscr. Sel.* 103 (in or after 2 B.C.) but for which there seems to be no real evidence. We should also have liked a reference to the evidence for the statement made in the section on finance that in Republican times it was only seldom that the tithes were paid *in natura*, but that the tax-payers or the city administrations on their behalf compounded with the *publicani* by paying sums of money.

The section on the army (105 pp.) contains much interesting matter lucidly set forth, but there are points on which we should have welcomed a more explicit statement of the actual evidence for the Augustan period—e.g., in regard to the appointment as centurions of men without any military training, including cadets of equestrian families who resigned the privileges of their rank. Nor is it clear why it is held that the idea of *tribunus semestris* (a title confined in fact to the imperial period) 'stammt gewiss aus der republikanischen Zeit.' The appointment in 2 B.C. of two prefects of the Guard

was, it is suggested, possibly due to the desirability of ensuring 'einheitliche Führung' of the groups of cohorts stationed in different parts of Italy; later a single prefect was appointed, at all events there was only one in A.D. 14 (which hardly proves the point), because, when imperial journeys to distant parts became rarer, the Guard was more and more kept together in and near Rome; after Tiberius' experience the double appointment was reintroduced, but certainly for other reasons than those which actuated Augustus. It is not manifest how this certainty is attained, especially as Tiberius in A.D. 14 gave a colleague to the one existing prefect. A more important point is the reason of the practical cessation of recruiting in Italy for the legions after A.D. 70, which Mommsen attributed to deliberate policy. 'An exclusion of Italy,' says Professor Dessau, 'from legionary or any other form of military service was never contemplated and never carried out.' But is the fact that recruiting was resumed in the troubled times of the second and third centuries really relevant to the issue? The other arguments are that there was no distrust of Italians (which Mommsen declared to be an increasingly dominant feature of imperial history), and that it would have been a singular distrust which relieved the suspected people of onerous legionary service and filled the praetorian cohorts with them—but the questions are: was it relief, and were there any good grounds for distrust? The explanation given by Professor Dessau, that the legions were now supplied with recruits from regions nearer to them, seems to be merely a statement of the fact. We may note as a curious omission the absence of any mention of the *collegia iuvenum*, which afford clear evidence of the sources to which Augustus and his successors looked for a supply of officers and men.

The work of Augustus in defending and expanding the Empire is well described, but in the treatment of the Armenian question undue stress is laid

on purely political and military considerations: cultural conditions (which are barely alluded to) and geographical conditions (which are left out) were important factors. Geography should also have been used to elucidate the course of conquest in the Balkan peninsula; and we should have thought that the evidence permits a much closer fixation of the date of the establishment of the Moesian province than 'if not immediately [after ca. 11 B.C.], yet probably not much later.'

The concluding chapter on literature is rather long (especially for Vergil and Horace) and seems to attribute too great influence to patrons like Maecenas: in any case it is abundantly clear, and attested by archaeological remains, that the sentiments of the poets gave exact and welcome expression to the feelings of the mass of the population. As regards Ovid's banishment, the author upholds the general view which connects it with the fall of the younger Iulia (pp. 467 ff., 532 ff.)—without discussing the not very serious difficulties that have been raised—and the unhappy poet's own words leave, indeed, little doubt that he witnessed occurrences which were painful to the Emperor and which were to be buried in silence (*cui aliquid vidi?* etc.). 'Eben damit er es nicht sage,' say Professor Dessau, 'war er ja nach Tomis verschickt worden,' which is perhaps as near the truth as we can get.

Detailed as the narrative is, the picture which it gives of the Augustan age is incomplete. No use is made of archaeological monuments (other than epigraphical) which bear eloquent witness both to the ideas that inspired Augustus and to the feelings of the people towards his rule. Still more notable is the absence of any description of the economic and social conditions of the period. There are some indications that this subject is merely deferred to the next volume. We hope so: to omit the economic history of the Empire would be to leave the most vital part of the story untold.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

## TWO BOOKS ON ARISTOTLE.

*Aristoteles.* Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung. By WERNER JAEGER. Large 8vo. Pp. 423. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923.

*Aristotle.* By W. D. Ross. Large 8vo. Pp. vi+300. Frontispiece. London: Methuen, 1923. 12s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR JAEGER'S object is to look at the philosophy of Aristotle in the making. He first tries to reconstruct from fragments the argument of three of the early lost writings. He then uses his results in analysing the most important works of the Aristotelian Corpus, so as to show that there is a development within them continuous with the development which led up to them.

The author believes that three main epochs can be distinguished in Aristotle's thinking. There is an early period in which he was a whole-hearted, though never a merely imitative, follower of Plato; there is a final period of maturity when as head of the Lyceum he emphasised his dissent from the Academy; and between these there is a time of transition during which, in Asia Minor in Lesbos and in Macedonia, he was breaking away from Plato and creating his own philosophy.

The evidence for the first period is found in fragments of the *Eudemus* and the *Protrepticus*. The date of the *Eudemus* is fixed at about 354. The surviving fragments have an unmistakably Platonic ring. The subject, the arguments, the atmosphere recall the *Phaedo*. It is hardly too much to say that if Aristotle meant seriously what the fragments show him to have said, he still believed, in the year 354, in the survival after death of the whole personality (and not merely of reason or of active reason), and that he based his belief on the Theory of Forms. Those who wish to deny that Aristotle had a 'Platonic' period must explain these fragments as 'popular' or as 'purple patches,' or must boldly deny that Aristotle wrote them. The more reasonable hypothesis, if it is supported by other early fragments, is that Aristotle meant what he said, and that, at

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this date, he accepted the metaphysics of Plato as the basis of his philosophy.

The dialogue form was not used in the *Protrepticus*, which was a letter in defence of the philosophic life, addressed in the true Platonic spirit to a practical statesman, the Cyprian tyrant Themison. Fragments of this letter, persuasively identified and interpreted, are important material for Jaeger's reconstruction. The starting-point is the *Hortensius* of Cicero, which is said by Trebellius Pollio to have been written on the model of Aristotle's *Protrepticus*. Now Bywater pointed out half a century ago (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. II.) that there is a close likeness between fragments of the *Hortensius* and passages in the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus, who, in the time of Constantine the Great, compiled this *Serious Call to the Philosophic Life* partly from neo-Platonic sources, partly from Plato himself, but to the extent of about one third of the book from a Peripatetic original. Bywater believed that an examination of Iamblichus made it probable that this original was the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle. This general conclusion was accepted by V. Rose<sup>1</sup> and by the most recent editor<sup>2</sup> of Iamblichus' handbook. Jaeger attempts to fix more precisely the limits of Aristotelian matter, and then proceeds to its interpretation.

The central idea of the restored *Protrepticus* is *φρόνησις*. The word has here not the later 'Aristotelian' sense of 'practical wisdom,' but a Platonic sense, which combines creative knowledge of Good with speculative insight into pure Being. (In *E.N.* VI. the word recovers its original everyday meaning.) And there is further evidence that the writer of the *Protrepticus* believed in the Theory of Forms. The statesman, we are told, must derive laws *ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας*. Unlike other artists, he can obtain his standards *ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πρώτων*; he is *θεατῆς* of the things themselves, not of *μιμήματα*. Now

<sup>1</sup> *Aristotelis Fragmenta*, Teubner, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Pistelli, Teubner, 1888.

αὐτὰ τὰ πρῶτα must mean, not the 'Aristotelian' universals, but the χωριστὰ εἶδη, and αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις is the supersensible world, and not the φύσις of the later Aristotle. Further, the objects of philosophic knowledge which the statesman must contemplate are of all things most exact. Now it is just this exactness of the Forms that was most strongly emphasised in the later doctrine of Plato.

Bywater did not fail to observe the Platonism of such passages, but, adopting the current explanation, he called them 'concessions to popular or Platonic notions.'

The chief document for the second or transitional period is the dialogue *περὶ φιλοσοφίας*, of which we have rather unsatisfactory fragments largely derived from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*. So far as the dialogue can be recovered and interpreted, it indicates that Aristotle had now given up the Theory of Forms, and was trying to reconstruct theological first principles in scientific form. Mind is the prime mover, but the conception is worked out scientifically by means of the hypothesis (also found in the Academic *Ἐπινomis*) of sidereal souls.

In many respects the dialogue resembles portions of the *Metaphysics*, and, if it is correctly ascribed to the time when Aristotle was lecturing to the little circle of Platonists at Assos, it helps us in analysing the works of Aristotle's maturity, especially the *Metaphysics*. There is no space here even to summarise the brilliant and sustained argument by which Jaeger seeks to establish the order of composition and the inter-relations of this loosely knit series of essays. The turning-point of Aristotle's thought is found to be an altered conception of the nature and subject-matter of metaphysical thought, which comes to be regarded not as the contemplation of the supersensible, but as the study of the grades of Being. The change is complete in Books Z-Θ. These books, originally a separate treatise *περὶ οὐσίας*, containing the typically Aristotelian doctrines of Form and Matter, Potentiality and Act, were fitted on to an earlier work (still preserved in the

*Metaphysics*), which had gradually grown out of the criticism of χωρισμός with which Aristotle had been busied at Assos. Even within the remnants of this earlier part of the *Metaphysics* different strata can be detected. There is an earlier (Book A) and a later (Book M) criticism of the Forms. K cc. 1-8 is earlier than B in its present form. ΓΕ belong to the earlier, though not to the earliest period. The discussion of Λ is especially interesting. This book has no connexion with the rest of the work, and is a complete outline of philosophy, dealing in cc. 1-5 with Matter and Form, Potentiality and Act, and in cc. 6-10 with the unmoved mover and the supersensible. It is a symptom of early date that the second part only is regarded by its author as metaphysics; the rest is preparatory. But within this second half c. 8 stands out as different in style and substance from its context. Its reference to Callippus dates it after 330, and its substitution of fifty or more movers of the planetary spheres for one unmoved mover (a sign of the increasing predominance of 'experience' over 'contemplation') represents a belated attempt of Aristotle (doubtless in a detached memorandum) to bring his metaphysics into line with the latest astronomy.

To the ethical and political works the same general scheme is fruitfully applied. Here as elsewhere 'the purely Aristotelian is only half of Aristotle.' The *Eudemian Ethics* is intermediate in date and doctrine between the *Protrepticus* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*. The contrast, which readers of the *Politics* find so abrupt, between the Platonic method of Utopia-building at the beginning and end of the work, and the realistic treatment of existing states in Δ-Z is explained by relating the former to the Platonic spirit of the *Protrepticus* and the latter to that increasing devotion to experience which culminates in the Aristotelian catalogue of constitutions.

Jaeger presents a broad front to attack. But, whatever criticism is directed against details, the main argument is worked out with a fullness and consistency which compel admiration and



forbid a summary dismissal of his conclusions. A lingering doubt remains whether it is right to accept, as Jaeger implicitly does, Aristotle's own view that *χωρισμός* is of the essence of the Forms. Perhaps Aristotle interpreted Plato one-sidedly all along, and criticised him the more unsparingly because he had himself once accepted the doctrine of *χωρισμός* unreservedly.

Mr. Ross's book does not claim the same kind of originality as Professor Jaeger's. But it is a great achievement to have given in 290 pages a clear and detailed account of all the relatively complete works of Aristotle. For the most part the author is not concerned to dispute about interpretations of the text, but is content to put forward (though not dogmatically) the view to which he has himself been led—a view which must always command respect. Criticism he has confined within narrow

limits, but he finds space to point out difficulties in Aristotle's argument, to suggest (without elaborating) comparisons with modern philosophers, and to distinguish those parts of his scientific writings which still repay study from those which modern enquiry has made obsolete.

Nothing could be better than this book for a student who knows something of Aristotle at first hand, and must be content for the time being with a full summary of other parts of his work.

The printing and proof-reading of the book are excellent. In note 3 on page 5 read *στοά*. Is 'self-respect' (p. 204) an adequate translation of *μεγαλοψυχία*? And is it not misleading to say (p. 205) that 'in his detailed treatment' of conduct Aristotle 'becomes an intuitionist'?

P. W. DODD.

### THE BUDE TACITUS.

*Tacite, Annales.* Livres I.-III. Texte établi et traduit par H. GOELZER. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. Paper, 16 francs.

THE introduction is good, and on the sources and method of Tacitus it is copious. In the list of editions 'qui ont quelque importance' one misses the name of Furneaux.

In the Latin text there is no novelty except the number of its misprints. Such things as 'senioq et uia' (II. xlii. 6) can be put right after a moment's thought, but 'discidium' for 'discordium' (I. xxxviii. 1) and 'Vannuo' for 'Vannio' (II. lxiii. 9) may mislead.

The French version strikes me as loose, and it shows no sense of Tacitean subtleties. In I. viii. 7 'remisit Caesar' is translated 'César y consentit,' in I. lxxxi. 3 'les seuls' and 'ceux' must change places, in III. xxvii. 1 'finis aequi iuris' is misunderstood. In the French text also the misprints are many and ugly, and the Latinless reader will be baffled by 'ports' for 'ponts' (I. xx. 1), 'décision' for 'dérision' (II. iv. 5), 'mettait' for 'mettrait' (II. xxi. 3).

As for the notes, they could not be much worse if the proofs had never been read. On p. 83 we find 'Dius Cassius' and 'Bouchie-Leclercq'; on p. 93 the battle of Lake Regillus is dated '258 av. J.C.' (for 'A.V.C.'). Many of the critical notes are mis-numbered or misplaced. What else the editor has done or suffered may be shown by a few samples from Book I.:

viii. 7 [read 8]. 'pulcherrimum faciam: pilcherimum facimus *M*.' For 'faciam' read 'facinus,' and for the next vowel read 'u.'

xxviii. 2. 'cessura quae paragerent *M* Baiter.' Untrue even of *M*.

xxviii. 8. 'a ueterano: auertramo *M*.' *M* has 'auerterano,' with a stroke drawn through the first 'r.'

xxxvii. 2. 'quaterniunt etuicesimanique *M*.' *M* has 'quintaniunt etuicesimanique.'

xlii. 4. 'Suriae *M*: Sy- *edd*.' The converse is meant.

lxxvii. 5. 'fieret Beroald: fieret *M*.' *M* has 'fleret.'

lxxix. [but the printer has put lxxxix.] 4. 'Pisonis *M*: <Cor.> Pisonis *Nipperdey*.' Nipperdey knew better than that.

One never knows where *M*'s mistakes end and the editor's or the printer's begin.

E. HARRISON.

## THE CULTS OF MAGNA GRAECIA.

*Culti e miti della Magna Grecia; contributo alla storia più antica delle colonie greche in Occidente.* Per GIULIO GIANNELLI. Pp. ix + 359. Five sketch maps. Firenze: R. Bemporad e Figlio, 1924. 50 lire.

SIGNOR GIANNELLI has produced a welcome and useful book. He has been at pains to collect and comment on every reference in literature to the cults and local sagas and myths of the Greek cities in Italy, with the exception of Rhegion and the Campanian towns, which, as he holds (p. ix), must be studied in conjunction with those of Sicily. Of the passages he cites, all the important ones are printed in full. References are also given to all coins and other archaeological material which throw any light on the subject. The arrangement is geographical, in order from east (Tarentum) to west (Temesa); the results are displayed in a table (pp. 280-281), and there follow some fifty pages of *conclusioni*, which include a discussion of various matters relating to the political history and chronology of Magna Graecia as well as its cults.

Covering as it does a region as yet untouched by the series of monographs issued by the American Academy at Rome, this book will be found helpful to all students of ancient religion and also to historians of this scantily-known district. The author lets no text or monument go without a full discussion, in which besides stating, as is inevitable, numerous views of other scholars, notably Beloch, Pais, and Comparetti, he gives us much of his own, which the reviewer on the whole likes better than his borrowings. Left to himself, he has, as he shows very clearly in treating of

an interesting passage in Bakchylides (X. 113; see p. 80 ff.), the ability to understand his authors adequately and the good sense to refuse to make them mean more than they say or hint. His handling of the evidence of coins again shows sanity as well as learning. But he is too apt to be impressed by a great name and accept an absurd theory attached to it. Thus, he founds a good deal of his argument on Beloch's wild notion that the Homeric Achaioi were the same as the Dorians, p. 16; he takes over from Gruppe (p. 22) the complicated misstatement that Zeus Kataibates is a chthonian god of Cretan origin, and from various mythologists, ancient and modern (p. 167 ff.), a very doubtful identification of Hera Lakinia with Dione. He shows to much better advantage when, in the section on Temesa, he rejects all the theories hitherto put forward concerning the weird tale of that city's 'hero,' and suggests one of his own which, though not satisfactory, is less absurd than those it displaces. Having felt it his duty (p. 216) to talk about the 'matriarchate' of the Lokrians, he at least proves (p. 240) that he is not grossly ignorant of the subject of mother-right and does not imagine that it means ritual prostitution, or Amazonism.

There are one or two inadequacies in his philology—he will hardly find many supporters for the idea (p. 14) that Phalanthos is a Greek name, in view of its pre-Greek suffix, *-vθ-*,—and in his mythological knowledge (he seems not to realise, p. 131, that the story of Komatas is fairly well known in antiquity), but such things are the exception.

H. J. ROSE.

## WELLS'S STUDIES IN HERODOTUS.

*Studies in Herodotus.* By J. WELLS. One vol. Pp. viii+232. Oxford: Blackwell. 7s. 6d. net.

THE greater part of this book is devoted to a review of various disputed topics in early Greek History which involve a careful interpretation of Herodotus. Of these problems some offer no secure

*point d'appui* and are frankly insoluble—e.g., the chronology of King Cleomenes and Miltiades' adventures in Gallipoli. Others, such as the early history of Peloponnesus and the campaign of Xerxes, well repay a close investigation.

The author's attitude to these contro-

versies is that of a judicious and discriminating defender of tradition. Here and there, however, his conclusions invite criticism. Mr. Wells hesitates to reject Stesimbrotus' story of an antagonism between Themistocles and Miltiades, though on Stesimbrotus' own showing this antagonism only arose after the passing of Themistocles' Big Navy bill—*i.e.*, six to seven years after Miltiades' death. Elsewhere he rejects tradition somewhat too readily. Thus he assumes that Athens and Sicyon participated in the Sacred War as vassals of Periander. But Periander impressed himself upon the Greeks so strongly that his subjugation of Athens and Sicyon and his leadership in the Sacred War could hardly have vanished from their memory. Also, why call into doubt Herodotus' remark that the tyranny at Sicyon lasted sixty years after Cleisthenes' death? This statement is quite inoffensive, and it forms part of a singularly well-informed excursus on Cleisthenes. Again, we may well believe that Gyges of Lydia was a praefectus praetorio before his usurpation, but seeing that he fought, and probably died fighting, against the Cimmerians, we hesitate to assume that he himself was a Cimmerian: the name of his father, Dascylus, points rather to a Phrygian origin. And as for Ezekiel's prophecy of an invasion by Gog, if this is really a projected reminiscence of the past, it refers far more aptly to the Scythian Terror of c. 625 B.C., which swept over Palestine, than to the Cimmerian raids, which failed to pass Mt. Taurus.

But while we may dissent from Mr. Wells on isolated points, we must admit the general soundness of his judgment. In his chapters on Ionia and the Persian Wars the author makes effective play as a champion of tradition against modern reconstructions; in his longest and most important chapter, concerning the early history of Peloponnesus, he shows equal skill in piecing together tradition's stray spars into a neatly jointed framework. According to Mr. Wells, the turning-point of Peloponnesian history fell soon after 600 B.C., for then it was that a thoroughly militarised Sparta restored the Dorian

ascendency which the Isthmus tyrants had sought to overthrow. Mr. Wells hardly succeeds in proving his additional point, that the Spartans actually deposed the despots of Corinth. As he himself admits, the speech of Sosicles (Herodotus V. 92) is proof to the contrary, and his suggestion that Herodotus reproduces a garbled Athenian version of this speech is not convincing: Herodotus' source was probably Delphian, and there is no reason to suspect its good faith. But taken as a whole the author's theory fits the known facts well, and it offers a most attractive solution of the great Lycurgus problem.

The remaining chapters of the book are devoted to an inquiry into Herodotus' intellectual pedigree and progeny. The historian's remarkably accurate information about the organisation of the Persian Empire and the inner history of the Persian court Mr. Wells derives not from Hecataeus but from the renegade Persian noble Zopyrus, who certainly was in a better position to know than even a Milesian polymath. The general outlook of Herodotus upon life Mr. Wells rightly describes as pre-Periclean, for his mind's eye lacked the Pericleans' sharp focus and corresponding narrowness of outlook. The author treads on less firm ground when he suggests that Herodotus' account of the walls of Babylon was parodied in the *Birds*, and that the oriental λόγος must therefore have been a new topic in 414 B.C. Babylon must have been known, *inter alios*, to the Athenian envoys whom Aristophanes takes off in the *Acharnians*, and in any case the comedian's field of parody extended not only to the latest work on the market but to ancient classics like Aeschylus and Pindar. The concluding chapter traces the influence of Herodotus upon English writers. It shows that Herodotus has chiefly served them as a quarry for amusing clichés. The true worth of Herodotus indeed was not revealed until the days of Grote and the birth of anthropological science. The wide acquaintance with English literature which Mr. Wells shows in this essay is also reproduced in many a felicitous illustration in other portions of his book.

M. CARY.

## SOPHOCLES.

*Sophocle.* Texte établi et traduit par PAUL MASQUERAY. Tome I.: Ajax, Antigone, Oedipe-Roi, Électre. Tome II.: Les Trachiniennes, Philoctète, Oedipe à Colone, Les Limiers. Two vols. Pp. xxxv + 266 = 532; 250 = 500. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1922, 1924. 18 fr. and 20 fr.

A USEFUL edition of Sophocles has been completed by M. Paul Masqueray in the well-known series of the Association Guillaume Budé. The present writer, who has recently edited a text of Sophocles in the series of Oxford Classical Texts, is gratified to find how often his constitution of the text agrees with that of M. Masqueray.

The principles upon which Sophocles should be edited are no longer open to serious doubt, and the true aspect of the matter would gradually have been perceived, even if the evidence of the papyri—unfortunately scanty as it directly relates to Sophocles—had been less decisive. In brief, they establish that readings hitherto credited to the ingenuity of the Byzantines were already in existence a thousand years or more earlier, and that consequently the authority of the *deteriores* upon which they rest is not entirely to be ignored. No doubt it is often true that the correction is deliberate and of such a kind that modern scholars would have detected the corruption without any serious difficulty, but much less is to be attributed to this source than is generally supposed. Thus in *O.T.* 827 the illogical order *ἐξέθρεψε κατέφυνε* is given by at least five MSS. It is generally regarded as a mere blunder, and is not noticed by M. Masqueray. But when we find that the same order appears in Pap. Oxy. 1369, there is good reason to suppose that the medieval scribes gave a correct representation of their immediate archetype in this instance, and that the occurrence of the logical order in LA should not influence us in favour of their reading unless it commends itself by intrinsic merit.

Thus it appears that a variant supported only by the authority of a late MS. is not necessarily an arbitrary in-

terpretation, but may be the remnant of a genuine tradition. However this may be, the variants in question, apart from such graphic errors as easily lend themselves to correction, are very few in number. The main authority on which our modern texts depend is that of the Laurentianus XXXII. 9 and the Parisinus 2712, and M. Masqueray rightly makes them the basis of his recension, with occasional mention of the later copies. In the list of sigla (I, p. xxxi) he selects for mention from amongst these latter only Parisinus 2884 and Laurentianus 152. The age of the last-named and certain peculiarities of reading may be regarded as warranting its selection, but if it is desired to present a complete record of the passages where one or other of these copies deserves mention, it will be found necessary, in view of our present ignorance, to specify at least forty. The independence of A as compared with L, denied by Dindorf and others in the nineteenth century, is assumed by M. Masqueray, and the evidence which he quotes on p. xx is adequate to prove it. On the other hand, he discusses in detail the question whether L and A are derived ultimately from the same archetype, and decides it with some hesitation in the affirmative. Yet he sometimes writes as if the question were the genuineness of the diverse readings rather than their derivation from the same source: thus he argues, much as Dindorf does, that in *Phil.* 220 the scribe of A deliberately introduced into a corrupt text the conjecture *ναυτίλῳ πλάτῃ*.

I regret that M. Masqueray has given fresh currency to the mistaken inferences that have been drawn from the absence of *Ant.* 1167 from the text of our MSS. Turnebus restored it from quotations by Athenaeus and Eustathius, and the latter adds that the verse is found in the *ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα*. M. Masqueray infers that Athenaeus possessed a MS. better than ours, and implies that the same is true of Eustathius. It should be observed that the quotations are independent of each other, as the contexts show, and that Athenaeus, who probably derives from an anthology

on ἡδονή, gives no sign of being aware that the text from which he quotes is a corrected version. To suppose that Eustathius, who lived some 200 years later than the date of L, possessed copies outside the tradition of our MSS., is so improbable a hypothesis that it is amazing to find it suggested by Jebb, whom Masqueray follows. Once again,<sup>1</sup> therefore, it is necessary to point out that the ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα were known not to Eustathius but to his ultimate source, which was earlier, one may guess, in view of the coincidence of Athenaeus, than the collection of Apion and Herodorus to which his text may be directly traced. M. Masqueray judged it unnecessary to repeat for Sophocles such a history of the tradition of the text as had been written for Aeschylus by M. Mazon, to which his readers are referred. Perhaps for this very reason he failed to see the solution which Eustathius' quotation requires.

In that part of his Introduction which treats of the text there are certain details which I hope that the editor will reconsider when a second edition is required. On p. xiii it is stated that the scholia contain references to Nonnus which prove them to be subsequent to the date of his poem; but the passages cited are by no means decisive. On p. xxii the statement that A has ναίων, L ἀνάσσω, requires amplification. L, as restored by the διορθωτής, has ναίων, and though it is probable that ἀνάσσω was originally written by the first hand, it was a mere blunder without significance. On pp. xxiv, xxv I think that Masqueray should not have hesitated to accept from the papyri ποτὲ βλέψασα in *El.* 995, and especially Μύσια in *Ai.* 699. The latter can be traced in the version of the scholia preserved by Suidas, and the appropriateness of the combination of Cretan with Phrygian dances is obvious (Strabo 466, etc.). *Ai.* 330 (p. xxvii): the reading λόγοις appears as a variant in Bodl. C. 89. The treatment of *O.T.* 943 f. is unsatisfactory as it stands, because it omits to take account of the variations of the *deteriores*. These show clearly that the reading of LA is only one of several methods

adopted to cure a metrical defect, and here, if anywhere, Byzantines other than Triclinius have been at work.

M. Masqueray's text is conservative, and he displays no inclination towards that itching for conjecture which prevailed in the last century. The limits within which conjecture should be confined are clearly stated, and the editor, who declares that he hardly ever resorts to it, shows much self-restraint by acting up to his principles. Nevertheless it is to be regretted that he should have proposed ἐκλάβῃ in *Ai.* 965. It should be mentioned that the *Ichneutae* is printed at the end of the second volume, and many will be glad to have it in a convenient form. Here also, where we might well have expected some fresh suggestions, the editor prefers to print a text selected from the restorations of his predecessors. The present reviewer certainly cannot complain that a considerable number of his own have been adopted.

The short introductions to the separate plays are admirably written, and deal with just those matters on which a student looks for information; and the literary appreciations of the dramatic motives are, as might be expected, clear and sensible. I am not competent to appraise the translation, which I have tested only here and there. I notice, however, that on p. 241 the words σε προσβιβῶ λόγῳ are wrongly rendered by 'je te ferai avancer.'

I proceed to notice points of detail taken from the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes* where correction of the apparatus is needed:

*Ai.* 212 στέρξαξαν: a printer's error. 279 ἦκη: r. as well as Suid. 313 φανοίην: also in Ven. 467. 317: L did not write ἐξέφοξεν or οἰμογὰς, although ω in the penultimate syllables is not clearly written. 371 is assigned to Tecmessa in two at least of the *recentiores*. 495: some cr. n. is required here, and at least the mention of ἀφείς. 597: ἀλίπλακτος is not peculiar to Γ, but is shared with H. Pal. and probably others. 626: φρενομόρως is a very strange word. Having regard to the constant confusion of β and μ at all times, I should have thought that Din-dorf's φρενοβόρως was certain. 699: the

<sup>1</sup> See *C.Q.* XIII., p. 122.

n. suggests that *Μύσια* is a variant for *Κνώσι*, which of course is not intended. 747: the revised punctuation is unnecessary. *πάρει* belongs to Reiske. 799 and 896: the nn. are not quite accurate. 955: the article is omitted in Pal. 1023: *ταῦθ' ἅπαντα*, also in Pal. 1100: read *λεὼν*. 1118 f.: the n. is incomplete. 1352: schol. is a mistake for Eustath.

*Phil.* 23: Masqueray accepts Blaydes's *τὸν αὐτόν*, which has no probability. 163: Γ's *τήνδε* deserves mention. 434: *σοῦ* is superscribed in Ven. 468. 639:

*ἀνῆ* belongs to Lambinus, and is perhaps implicit in the schol. 648: *ἐπι* belongs to Auratus. 761: the n. is obscure. 782: *ἀτελῆς* is a misprint. 792: Wakefield's *ἵκοι'* deserved mention. 851: the reading *ὅπως* does not depend on conjecture. 950: *σαντοῦ* is more idiomatic than *σαντῶ*, and should have been given the preference. 984: I hoped that Professor Housman had given *τολμήσσετε* its quietus. 1028: something is wrong with the cr. n. here. 1094: 'Heat' is a misprint. 1243: *τοῖς* is in Lc (Laur. XXXII. 2).

A. C. PEARSON.

### VERGIL'S WONDERCHILD.

*Die Geburt des Kindes: Geschichte einer religiösen Idee.* By EDUARD NORDEN, One vol. Pp. 172. Leipzig: Teubner, 1924. 6s.

A NEW work on the Fourth Eclogue was about due, and it is a matter for congratulation that so competent a scholar as the author of *Antike Kunstprosa* and of the best commentary on the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* yet written has taken the subject in hand. We find sound exegesis of the text, deep appreciation of the poem as such, and much interesting illustrative material ingeniously handled, in this admirable little book; and therefore the fact that many may, certainly the present reviewer does, find much to disagree with in the interpretations suggested, is of minor importance.

Norden, who has a prejudice in favour of Latin that will construe, accepts Quintilian's *qui* in v. 62, and with it the necessary emendation *parenti*. In 27, he brushes aside all attempts to make *legere* mean anything but what it plainly does mean—namely, 'read.' In 49, with good sense, the rhetorical form of the line, and the meaning of the whole context to aid him, he translates *Iouis incrementum, Nachwuchs Iupiters*, and quotes abundance of parallels. His rendering of another much-misconstrued line, 16, is considered below.

His general interpretation is this. No particular child, born or to be born, of any actual contemporary is meant. The poem is, though not in the sense in which it was long believed to be, a

Messianic prophecy. The reign of Apollo-Helios has come—i.e., the winter solstice is passed; we are in the middle of the Christmas season, in other words; and Epiphany, Jan. 6, the *γενέθλιον Αἰῶνος*, will come soon, bringing with it the new, golden *saeculum*, of which the *nascens puer* is the incarnation, or rather, with which he is identical, for such concepts as time are far less abstract to ancient religious thought than to philosophy, especially current modern philosophy. That Pollio entered upon his year of office between these dates—i.e., on Jan. 1, B.C. 40—is the occasion of a most graceful compliment to him, and that is his sole connexion with the child or the prophecy. The child will be a sun-child, spirit-conceived, of divine parentage, born to rule the universe. He will be inspired with divine life (*deum uitam accipiet*), will meet gods and heroes face to face, and will be received by them as one of themselves (*uidebitur illis*; they will not turn away their faces from him as from an intruder; the pronoun is dative of agent, and not dependent on *mixtus* supplied from *mixtos*, as many have clumsily taken it). Once his rule is established, the Golden Age will come and abide. The poem ends with the prayer that the child will come quickly, at full time, and testify his divinity by smiling, like Zoroaster, in the first moments of his life (*incipere . . . risu cognoscere matrem*).

In support of this interpretation, with much of which I fully agree, Norden

assembles a great array of passages from pagan and Christian literature alike, ranging from texts of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt to the Gospels and the later Sibylline oracles. Naturally some of what he says is connected with the main subject only by a thread of association or conjecture which at times is very thin; but it is all interesting and will repay study. My own feeling is, that he is too prone to derive everything from Egypt, though certainly many of the parallels are most striking, notably that between vv. 15-17 and the series of ceremonies by which an Egyptian king was presented with the symbols of divine life, received into the company of the gods, and promised world-wide

dominion. But, to take a single example, one hesitates to follow him in his pan-Egyptian views, when side by side with this he introduces astrological material (p. 125) which certainly is not of Egyptian origin, however much part Egypt may have taken in popularising this and other conceptions. Personally I should be more inclined to look for the genesis of many ideas of the Eclogue in Anatolia, and to keep in view the possibility of Egypt having borrowed, not lent, much that can be associated with her. But that Egyptian, or Graeco-Egyptian, *θεολογούμενα* had carried some at least of Vergil's doctrines far and wide may be regarded as certain.

H. J. ROSE.

#### ROSTRUP ON ATTIC TRAGEDY.

*Attic Tragedy in the Light of Theatrical History.* By EGILL ROSTRUP, Ph.D. Translated by INGEBORG ANDERSEN, M.A. One vol. Pp. 166. Copenhagen, Christiania, London, Berlin: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1923. 7s. 6d.

DR. ROSTRUP begins his work with a quotation from Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: 'Wer sich nicht selbst täuscht . . . der muss gestehen, dass er eigentlich nicht weiss, wie eine Tragödie gespielt ward.' If this was true at the beginning of the book (and it must be admitted to be almost as true as when the words were written in 1889), it remains no less true at the end, so speculative and unconvincing is Dr. Rostrup's argument. Briefly, it may be said that the assumption of the book is that which is regularly made by the anthropological school of interpreters of the Greek drama, that whatever explanation will fit the performances of primitive tribes in remote parts of the globe (and above all those of the Australian aborigines) must be the explanation of the Greek drama, and that the Greek evidence must be made to square with this assumption. Consequently Greek Tragedy must have been in origin a magical mask-drama, forming an integral part of puberty-initiations, and having for its object not *μίμησις*, or representation of persons and events—this is a later corruption—but 'methec-

tic and kathartic collaboration with the autochthonic spirits,' aiming at increasing *mana* by means of ecstasy or intoxication. Unfortunately all the descriptions given of ceremonies from Australia, Africa, India, Japan, Tibet, China, etc., interesting as they are, fail to prove anything at all about Greece; and when carefully criticised appear to be not only but faintly analogous to one another, but in the most important points not really analogous to anything of which we have definite evidence in Greece. Space will not allow of a detailed discussion here; all that is possible is to mention certain points in the book.

Dr. Rostrup begins with the problem whether there was or was not a high raised stage in the fifth century. He surveys rapidly, and with expressions of great contempt for his predecessors, the history of the discussion, and concludes his discussion of the argument from extant structures by accepting *in toto* the conclusions of Fiechter, adding that if, as Fiechter agrees, in all known theatre structures the plays were performed upon, not in front of, a high proscenium, the earlier theatres must also have had such a stage, and that a 'somewhat elevated' stage, such as some scholars hold to have been in use in the fifth century, is 'in every respect a nonsensical and arbitrary phan-

tasy.' Some of the difficulties which he urges against this phantasy are undoubtedly real ones—particularly the absence of all allusion in ancient authorities to the change from a low stage (or no stage at all) to a high one, and the lack of any known compelling reason for such a change; but there are many other well-known difficulties in the way of the assumption of a high stage, to which he does not do justice. Indeed, he attempts to explain and justify the high stage as an original property of a supposed magical puberty-initiation, on the ground that in some such initiations a platform is known to have been used; and to all arguments from the text of the plays and from what seems to be the *minimum* of realism required in the acting, he replies (with arguments drawn from many strange races) that Greek tragedy did not aim at illusion at all, that it was a magical dance, not a representation, and consequently it did not attempt to represent things realistically. Accordingly passages in the text implying (*e.g.*) close contact between actors and chorus prove nothing. No doubt Dr. Rostrup is right in protesting against the supposition that the Athenians required the kind of realism which the modern drama demands, and in accusing some of the defenders of earlier theories of inconsistency; but his own theory appears to be at least an equal exaggeration in the opposite direction. The truth (unsatisfactory as it is) seems to be that we do not know what degree of realism in acting the Athenian public required. Every people has its own stage-conventions, and we really do not know—speaking broadly—what the Athenians were willing to accept or what they refused to tolerate; Aristotle (*Poetics* XVII.) seems to hint that in his day there were limits; but he is no authority for the fifth century. There was undoubtedly much that was rigidly conventional, especially in the costume of the actors; and one of Aristophanes' complaints against Euripides was based on his attempt to provide more realistic effects; but we may doubt whether the visible performance as a whole was as indifferent to the text as Dr. Rostrup imagines. Whether or not he is right

in stating (p. 45) that the fourth mimiambus of Herondas was 'declaimed at a symposium by one man only, without any apparatus at all,' the statement proves nothing as regards tragedy, and it would be easy to criticise in detail his *ex parte* discussions of certain passages from actual Greek tragedies. Dr. Rostrup has of course to enter into the well-worn controversy about the derivation and meaning of the word *τραγῳδία*, the part played by Thespis and Arion in the development of tragedy, and kindred subjects. He thinks that the *τράγοι* who performed tragedy were not persons dressed as goats, not persons contending for the goat-prize, but an 'age-class'—viz., the young men newly initiated, called (like various *Altersklassen* in Australia, Africa, etc.) by an animal-name, and intermediate in age between the *χοροὶ παίδων* and the *χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν* who performed the dithyramb (the song of the second birth). The evidence for this theory is less remarkable than the confidence with which it is stated. The connexion of tragedy with puberty-initiations is ingeniously supported by reference to the facts (1) that some of the choruses of the earliest tragedies were female, and (2) that at such initiations men sometimes dress up in women's clothes. It may be doubted whether many scholars will find this more convincing than some other arguments.

As to Thespis, the tradition in Suidas (that *πρῶτον μὲν χλόας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμυθιῷ ἐτραγῳδῆσεν, εἶτα ἀνδράχνη ἐσκέπασεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιδελκνυσθαι*, and then used linen masks) is interpreted as a mistaken reminiscence of a ceremony in which the initiate was first painted white (at this stage being a 'goat-singer,' as if *ἐτραγῳδῆσεν* could mean this in Suidas), then red, and then masked, as a full initiate—as in Australia and Africa (pp. 76, 84, 100). Of course Thespis did not invent the masks: masks, Dr. Rostrup tells us, are invariably a property of puberty-initiations. This, he says, 'has long been known' (p. 81); but when he enumerates the known cases of 'mask-drama' in Greece, he entirely fails to connect any of them with such initiations, except possibly (though it is very uncertain) the masked



performances in the Artemisium at Sparta. (His discussion of these is full of very disputable points.) We are told further that 'it is in every respect senseless to imagine the earlier tragedies as Dionysus-plays' (p. 68). Tragedy originally belonged to the worship of the great goddess Artemis. The Dionysia took place in Ἐλαφηβολιών, and must therefore have originally been called ἐλαφηβόλια (p. 161). 'This again means that if the dithyramb is the "Pelasgian" rebirth, this must have taken the shape of the killing of ἔλαφος, a stag. Hence we must suppose that the first cult-title given to a boy when his civic education began was ἔλαφος. We must suppose that the performer who was torn to pieces and devoured in the chief δρώμενον of the dithyramb bore the name of ἔλαφος. And the primitive great goddess which lies behind the Artemis figure was, as we know, called ἐλαφηβόλος, ἐλαφοκτόνος.' As for the way in which Dionysus got in, we are told that he arose out of the puberty-ritual, as the twice-born; and the Dionysiac festival was created anew by Pisistratus 'in the sign of Orphicism, under Onomacritus' banner' in 534 B.C. There is, of course, no evidence at all for this, or for any connexion of tragedy with the Orphic Dionysus, or with ritual second-births; but what does evidence matter?

It is interesting to be told (p. 69) that

the poet was called διδάσκαλος, not as teacher of his chorus, but as a lecturer on one or four selections from national history—the 'myths' embodied in the plays. (It would take too long to discuss here Dr. Rostrup's view of the relation of the myths to the plays: it seems to be an exaggerated form of the undoubted truth that some myths are aetiological explanations of cult.)

If, however, the reader desires to see Dr. Rostrup at his best, he may be referred to the pages (155 ff.) which connect Arion of Corinth, Arion the coal-black steed, who was tamed by King Adrastus after he (Arion) had served under two princes, and the story of Cleisthenes' behaviour at Sicyon in regard to Adrastus, Dionysus and Melanippus (him of the black steed).

Dr. Rostrup has not been altogether fortunate in his translator, whose English is sometimes obscure, and often unidiomatic. The words 'cultural,' 'inshakeable,' 'titulate,' 'discretionary,' 'juxtaposed,' and some others, are probably new: 'architectonic' is used for 'architectural,' 'reverse' for 'converse,' 'rudiment' for 'survival,' 'paradigm' for 'instance': it may be doubted whether Odysseus assailed the Cyclops' eye with a 'rafter': and a work on Greek scholarship should not contain such forms as *acropolae* (plural of 'acropolis'), and (frequently) 'ephebi' (for ἑφηβοί).

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

#### PLATO'S *EUTHYPHRO*, *APOLOGY*, *CRITO*.

*Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates, and Crito.* Edited with notes by JOHN BURNET. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 8s. 6d. net.

THIRTEEN years have passed since Professor Burnet presented us with his interesting, if not always convincing, edition of the *Phaedo*: the commentaries which he has now produced on the three other Platonic memorials of the last days of Socrates display the same rare skill in concise and lucid annotation, and are similarly packed with valuable information and suggestion for students of Plato and his master. The assertion in the Clarendon Press advertisement, that 'the commentary will be found a mine of information on questions of

interpretation and Platonic idiom,' is not altogether happy, if it implies that the reader has some digging to do, and thereafter some sifting and refining and weighing: in any case, there is not much debateable matter for the historian of philosophy in these three dialogues, and the editor gets few chances of burrowing beneath the ordinary surface of linguistic interpretation. In this last affair he excels; and the various legal points, especially in the *Euthyphro* and the *Apology*, are admirably explained. It is when we come to certain biographical matters that we feel the need of stepping warily in the gloom, and sniffing the air, and holding high our lamps. Precaution is

the more necessary, since Professor Burnet nowhere assembles his conjectures, but inserts them by the way among the ordinary business of interpretation, where they have a simple, inconsequential air. However, we are fairly put on our guard by the first note of all, on the character and position of Euthyphro. This person, we are told, was no orthodox theologian, but rather 'a sectary of some kind, and it may be significant that he had spent his youth in the island of Naxos, one of the chief centres of Dionysiac worship. It may be even more significant that Paros, just six miles across the water, was one of the seats of the Pythagorean dispersion.' So Euthyphro must be one of the Pythagorists who at times consorted with Socrates. But the guesses are not all so hazardous as this; and we notice that Xenophon is now given a little credit as a biographer of Socrates: 'there is no doubt that he read all the Socratic literature he could come by, and it is hard to believe that he would

not have spoken more positively if he had anywhere found a distinct statement to the effect that the *καὶνὰ δαιμόνια* really meant the *δαιμόνιον σημεῖον*.' In the notes on the *Apology* there is some interesting discussion of the *Clouds*, and of Socrates' familiarity and concern with the scientific theories there attributed to him. Professor Burnet concludes (on *Apol.* 19 D) that, although he never showed any knowledge of them in public, he may well have 'studied them in the company of his *ἐταῖροι*.' But in 33B we find Socrates passionately declaring—'if anyone says that he ever learnt or heard anything from me in private which the world at large has not, you may take it that he is lying.' On this awkward statement Professor Burnet makes no remark. We are grateful, however, for many gleams of light which he has thrown elsewhere for our guidance through the historical, legal, and linguistic difficulties of these three dialogues.

W. R. M. LAMB.

*Das Kind in der epischen Dichtung der Griechen.* By OSKAR VON ALLMEN. Bern: Paul Haupt, 1923. Pp. 67.

THIS little book is a labour of love. Its kindly feeling and simple style make it of interest to the general reader no less than to the scholar. For the latter it is marred by vagueness of thought. The selection of a single *genre* would seem to point to a purely literary study tracing the use of the Child as a feature in the technique of that *genre*. Thus the Messenger might be traced in Tragedy or the Slave in Comedy. When, however, as here, the feature in question is merely occasional or incidental, the value of such a study may be doubted. The writer himself concludes negatively, that the Child 'was not a problem to the Greeks.'

Equating literary with social importance, he sometimes appears to be examining the latter, in which case confinement to the evidence of Epic poetry becomes foolish and artificial. Under the term Epic he includes Homer, the Cyclic poets, the Homeric hymns, Hesiod, the hymns of Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, and some Idylls of Theocritus. More than a third of the book consists of two appendices examining the same feature in Greek Drama and Roman Epic.

The word 'Kind' covers a little confusion of thought. At times it seems to refer to age, to infancy and childhood, at others to the relation of offspring to parent. The latter use appears in Hecuba's sorrow on the loss of Polyxena and Polydorus; her sorrow for Hector, and Priam's, are ignored. Alcestis' farewell to her children is mentioned, but the relations between Admetus

and his father pass unnoticed. Such omissions and inconsistencies are frequent. Where so much ground is traversed, there can be no pretension to completeness. Nevertheless, the book justifies its existence; it gracefully reminds the world how the ancients felt and spoke in face of an eternal and precious fact of human life. Students of 'the humanities' may find in it part of the meaning of that name.

R. B. ONIANS.

(1) *Anthologia Lyrica.* Ed. E. DIEHL. Two vols. Pp. vi+114; ii+92. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922-3. 1s. 6d. per vol.

(2) *I Lirici Greci.* Ed. B. LAVAGNINI. One vol. Pp. vi+164. Turin: Paravia, 1923. L. 9.50.

(1) BERGK'S well-known *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* (1868), subsequently revised and reissued by Hiller and Crusius, has recently been thoroughly re-edited and very greatly improved by E. Diehl. The first volume contains the remains of early Greek elegy from Callinus to Cleo Siculus; Vol. II. includes Theognis, the *Golden Verses* of 'Pythagoras,' and that weird jumble of Judaism and Hellenism still allowed to masquerade under the distinguished name of Phocylides. The editor has added recently-discovered fragments and increased the worth of the whole collection by inserting short critical notes and 'testimonia,' and better still a large number of references to parallel passages, thus placing an admirably concise and thoroughly reliable collection of materials at the disposal of all who wish to study the somewhat remarkable

remains of an important branch in the poetry of the Greeks.

Much has been done in the present century to elucidate the fragments of early Greek elegy.<sup>1</sup> In addition to Germany (e.g., editions by Sitzler and Biese), Great Britain, France, America, and Italy have made notable contributions—e.g., E. Harrison's *Theognis* (1902), Miss Lane's Index to the *Anthologia Lyrica* (Cornell University, 1908), Linforth's *Solon the Athenian* (University of California, 1919), Hauvette's *Archiloque* (1905); the *Loeb Library* has promised an edition of the *Elegiac Poets* by E. D. Perry, and the present reviewer has ready for publication a full commentary with revised text of pre-Theognidian elegy. Italy has provided the essays on Archilochus by Monti (1904, 1907), the *Lirici Greci* of Fracaro (1910) and Zambaldi (second edition 1912), and the volume now before us (2), in which Lavagnini presents the schoolboy with a convenient and annotated selection from early Greek elegiac and melic poetry; his text is based on that of the Bergk-Hiller-Crusius *Anthology*.  
T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

*Schlachten-Atlas zur Antiken Kriegsgeschichte.*  
Herausgegeben von DR. J. KROMAYER und  
OBERST DR. J. VEITH. Folio. Leipzig:  
Wagner and Debes.

THIS Atlas is being published in parts. The Greek section will consist of two parts, neither of which has yet appeared: (i.) From the Persian Wars to Epaminondas, and (ii.) from Epaminondas to Roman times. The Roman section will be in four parts. Of these, Parts I. and II. (from the Allia to Cannae and from Cannae to Numantia) appeared in 1922, Part IV. (from Caesar's Civil War to Actium) has just been published, Part III. (Numantia to the end of the Gallic War) is still to come.

Each part consists of maps and text. In each part there are from four to seven large map-sheets, and on each sheet one battle or series of battles or campaign is dealt with. Cannae, for instance, has a sheet to itself; Corfinium, Ilerda and Massilia share one. These are mostly tactical battle-maps, mostly on a scale of 1-50,000. Alternative solutions are often given on a smaller scale. Sometimes, when topographical detail is uncertain, tactical movements are shown by diagrams without maps. There are also small-scale maps showing strategical movements, and there are plans of sieges. Hill-features are shown by contours and brown tinting; flat land is white, water blue; troops are shown red and blue.

The text contains a section for each campaign and battle, and each section contains (i.) a summary of the chief sources, ancient and modern; (ii.) a summary of the course of events; (iii.) a summary of the chief problems and differences of opinion and of the argument in favour of the solution preferred. The Editors have had the assistance of most of the leading authorities,

including Grundy and Rice Holmes among English scholars.

The work is well done. The maps are well-produced, clear and easy to understand, though it is a pity that blue, in different shades, has been selected to represent troops as well as water. It is not always easy at once to distinguish between rivers and Roman troops on the march. It is not claimed that as a rule the maps are based on fresh topographical knowledge. In the parts which have so far appeared many come from the Editors' well-known *Antike Schlachtfelder*, where the specialist may still prefer to consult them, for they are there more numerous and usually on a larger scale. The text shows great power of comprehensive summary and the common-sense and moderation which are characteristic of the Editors' large work. Though not exhaustive it is perhaps as exhaustive as one has a right to expect in a work of this compass. For this does not seem to be so much an Atlas for the specialist as for the plain man (or boy) who reads ancient history with a general interest in warfare and wants to have an Atlas handy without going to the specialist books, or for the modern military historian who wants to make a rapid survey of ancient campaigns.

The only doubt that suggests itself is whether there are enough people of these types to make the experiment profitable. There is not likely to be a very large public taking an interest in the tactical detail of ancient battles. Nor is it very desirable that there should be, for it is not really possible ever to arrive at certainty in these matters. The red and blue rectangles which on these maps represent troops are purely conventional. Troops never do move about so neatly, and even if they ever did there is no sufficient evidence to show how they did move. There is even a danger of people being misled by this diagram habit into wasting time on fruitless efforts at reconstruction and into believing that solutions are true which are really only ingenious. For that reason there seems to be more value in the strategical maps and summaries (Hannibal's passage of the Alps, for instance). Here there is more food for argument, and it is convenient to be able to get both illustration and discussion in summary form.

These remarks do not detract from the excellence of the Atlas in its own way, but it is to be hoped that before long someone will devote similar skill and industry to producing a new general Atlas of Ancient History, which is badly wanted.  
N. WHATLEY.

*Supplement to Cambridge Review.* Vol. xlv., No. 1112. The *Birds* of Aristophanes. Lecture given by Dr. Verrall, 1903. Pp. 5. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., Ltd., February 22, 1924. 6d.

THE *Cambridge Review* of February 22, in prospect of the performance of the *Birds* which has since taken place, published a report of a lecture on the play, delivered by the late Dr. Verrall, in 1903, when it was last performed at Cambridge. The report was held over to

<sup>1</sup> [Professor Hudson-Williams modestly omits his own *Theognis*.—ED.]

permit the lecturer to develop and revise his statement, which, however, he was unable to do before his untimely death. The gist of it is that the play is a burlesque of certain non-Hellenic religious rites then gaining ground in Athens, and that the type of foreign religion caricatured is Phoenician, Palestinian, Jewish. 'The city in the heavens, the winged inhabitants, the attraction by which the city draws to it all mankind, the manner in which they are admitted to participate in it by receiving wings—all these things, the whole Aristophanic story, have their parallel in the symbolism of Heaven and the Angels, as it is now popularly accepted. Is it impossible that there really is a connexion?' The rest of the lecture is devoted to establishing this connexion generally and in detail. The name of the hero Peithetairos is interpreted 'convincer of the congregation.' The Cuckoo, the bird-king of Phoenicia, reappears in the name of the city in the air, 'Cloucduckooborough,' which is, therefore, a skit on things Phoenician. The mysterious Queen, who is handed over to Peithetairos, as a symbol of the transference of sovereignty, is the Phoenician *Malcath Shamayim*, or Queen of Heaven, whose title, in the form *Regina Coeli*, has descended to Christian times; and the description of her 'in a glory' is that which has become traditional in Christian art. The moral ideas also, which are those of a universal, and not an exclusive, religion, setting humility and the virtues above glory and domination, are unlike those of Hellas, and resemble those which have come out of Palestine. Point is added to the play, if its symbols are not merely fictions of the comedian, but copies and parodies of something known. The exposition of this view, which in a summary must appear rather crude, is marked by all Dr. Verrall's persuasiveness, and is exceedingly pleasant to read. Delicate as the ideas handled are, there is nothing in their expression that need offend, the lecturer treating his 'Phoenicians' with the same respect that, in spite of the satire, he discerns in the treatment of Aristophanes himself.

AUSTIN SMYTH.

*Greek Religion and its Survivals.* ('Our Debt to Greece and Rome.') By WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. Pp. ix+230. London, Calcutta, Sydney: Harrap and Company. Cloth, 5s. net.

THE subject of this book, which is difficult and controversial, demands an equipment which Professor Hyde does not appear to possess. His sketch of ancient Greek religion seems to me thin and poor, based upon a superficial knowledge of the data and nowhere betraying the judgment or profundity which can only be acquired by the experience of first-hand research. He has clearly but a second-hand knowledge of modern Greek folklore, and the bulk of his book is drawn from a few well-known English works, of which Mr. Lawson's supplies the lion's share of matter. He is unhampered by any acquaintance with the comparative folklore of the countries of Europe and the Near East.

Those who wish to see what can be said for the theory that modern Greek folklore is in the

main made up of survivals from classical antiquity (a theory which I personally find it increasingly difficult to swallow in its extreme forms) will find it more profitable to turn up Mr. Lawson's *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* than to waste time upon this pale simulacrum.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

*Kantharos.* Studies in Dionysiac and Kindred Cult. By GEORGE W. ELDERKIN. Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology. Pp. 241 with 10 Plates. London: H. Milford, for Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1924. Price 52s.

THIS expensive book is beautifully printed and illustrated. To criticise its contents is frankly beyond me. The first article attempts to show that the archaic Spartan grave stelae represent Dionysos and Persephone welcoming the souls of the deceased and belong to the cult of the Kabeiroi, which was early introduced into Laconia and Lydia. I don't believe that the theory is true, but we here still retain an occasional contact with reality. As one progresses, however, through this collection of forty-one essays the revels become wilder and wilder and we are soon lost in the bewildering uproar of an etymological 'Walpurgisnacht.' The sensation is of a nightmare of rapid inconsequential sequences of mad adventure. Everything turns into something else, usually a 'curved object, sickle (?)'; fetishes become anthropomorphic gods and ascend to heaven as solar deities. Here one may learn how Prometheus began his career as a fetish firestick: how Zeus Lykaeos=sickle Zeus=Saturn=Kronos, and how 'in the theriomorphic stage of the cult, the sickle-fetish was superseded by the wolf, which 'because of its slashing habits with its sabre- or sickle-tooth was eminently qualified to act as the animal embodiment of the God': how Sarpedon, or sickle-tooth, is related to Lykia, the sickle land, Lykourgos, the sickle maker, and Mithras, who was sickle god before he had to do with the sun; how Mars, Zeus, Ouranos were originally earth gods; how the Kerkopes, Kekrops, and Hercules are all sickle heroes, and Poseidon's trident is really an agricultural fork; how Apollo and Hercules, *mirabile dictu*, are the same in origin, and the name Caesar is really another form of Kabeiros. All this and many not less surprising discoveries may be read in the pages of this (shall we say?) remarkable and imaginative work.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

*Anthimus: De Observatio Ciborum.* Text, Commentary, and Glossary, with a Study of the Latinity. A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By SHIRLEY HOWARD WEBER. One vol. Pp. viii+160. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1924.

THE ungrammatical title of this book, not unconnected perhaps with the fact that it was printed in a country other than that in which it was written, should not deter one from its use. For though it

necessarily betrays some signs of inexperience, it is on the whole a really meritorious piece of work. The author had the benefit of the advice of the late Professor Frank Frost Abbott (died July, 1924), and obtained photographs of the best MS., that in the Stiftsbibliothek at St. Gall. He has also consulted a considerable number of books on late Latin. The printing is occasionally inaccurate. I do not know why he does not translate *cervisa* by 'beer,' instead of 'cervoise' (p. 19), which does not appear to be an English word. There are some doubtful or untrue statements in the commentary—for example: *qualiter* (p. 57) is not 'classical' in any sense; *ipsud* is unknown to Plautus and Terence (p. 67); for '*boccula*' (p. 73) read *buccula*: *uirgae* in the sense 'cross-bars of the grill' may be unique (p. 83), but the author might have referred to Statius, *Silvae*, II. 4, 12, where *uirgae* means the 'bars of a parrot's cage.' Whatever criticisms may be passed on this work in matters of detail, students of colloquial Latin, for which the half-educated medical writers are a good source, should not pass it by: it will form a useful addition to the scanty library at their disposal.

A. SOUTER.

*The Villas of Pliny the Younger.* By Miss HELEN H. TANZER. Pp. xii+152, with Frontispiece and 55 Plates, Bibliography, and Index. Columbia University Press, 1924. 12s. 6d.

FEW words, save of praise, are needed for this book. In it Miss Tanzer gives the text of the two letters which Pliny devotes to his villas (II. 17 and V. 6), together with an English translation, a disquisition on villas before Pliny's time, and a chapter upon the reconstructions attempted by various scholars and artists, from the seventeenth century down to the present; she includes her own reconstruction, based upon that of Cowan, who in turn drew his inspiration from Castell. The plates (over fifty in number) accompanying this chapter are splendid reproductions; for completeness and beauty of presentation the volume could not be surpassed; here in handy compass are all the materials that could be desired for a study of Pliny's villas. Miss Tanzer has done a very solid and useful piece of work: printing and get-up are alike excellent. It should be added, however, that the English translation is very free, and that the industrious reader, however hard he searches, will not succeed in finding 'Statius' famous poem on the villa of Volantilla.'

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

*Greek Literary Criticism.* By J. D. DENNISTON. (The Library of Greek Thought. Edited by Ernest Barker, M.A.). One vol. Pp. xli+224. London: J. M. Dent, 1924. 5s.

IT is no easy task to compile a selection of Greek criticism which shall by itself convey much to the general reader. For the criticism of the Greeks is scanty; they produced great literature rather than talked about it, just as we do the reverse. And to the modern their judgments are apt to seem both primitive and pedantic, too technical with their everlasting

'figures,' too rudimentary with their exposition of the obvious—as when Demetrius profoundly observes that Homer could speak of the lower slope of Ida as its 'foot,' but could not have called a man's foot his 'slope.' '*Non defensoribus istis*' will the Philistines be abashed, not by this sort of pebble Mr. Wells overthrown.

The book suffers because the selected passages tend to be too long and too dull. The undying brilliance of *The Frogs* makes an excellent opening; but it is typical of the uncritical awe with which Plato is regarded, that seventy-seven pages out of two hundred and twenty-one should be consecrated to his 'literary criticism.' As a critic, his importance is mainly historical; his chief tenets—that poetry is written in a state of inspired delirium, and is on the whole an immoral business, to be strictly censored, if allowed at all—are interesting, because at various times people have been found to take them seriously; but in themselves they are merely grotesque, and seven pages, not seventy-seven, would have amply sufficed them. This disproportion matters because other things which do signify have been squeezed out, including even Plato's own happy anticipation of the union of tragedy and comedy in Shakespeare, at the end of the *Symposium*. One misses, for instance, what Professor Saintsbury calls 'the extremely, almost suspiciously, remarkable passage attributed to the Middle Comic poet Simylus' on Nature and Art, Dionysius' famous criticism of Thucydides, that passage of 'Longinus' where for a moment Comparative Criticism springs to light with a Greek quoting *Genesis*, and the same writer's characteristically 'classic' remarks on the romance of the *Odyssey*.

And what an opportunity, too, in a selection like this for providing a little human relief from the duller tracts with some observations from the Scholia and a few critical epigrams from the *Anthology*!

Mr. Denniston's introduction is sensible and adequate; though he is needlessly apologetic for his clients when he fears that parts of Longinus may be 'unintelligible' to the modern owing to the stress they lay on imitation. 'We should scarcely agree, for instance, that one author could supply inspiration to another; still less that if a man wishes to write well he should perpetually be saying to himself, "How would Plato or Demosthenes have expressed this?"' Why not? Again, it is misleading to call Aristotle 'the pupil of Isocrates.'

The real trouble is that the book is not humanly alive in the way, for instance, that Professor Saintsbury's treatment of this same subject is; for if the books of this series are to fulfil their excellent purpose, that is the quality which above all they must possess.

F. L. LUCAS.

*Our Debt to Greece and Rome: Mathematics.* By DAVID EUGENE SMITH. Pp. x+175. Sm. 8vo. George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 1923. Cloth, 5s. net.

GREEK learning, as scholars know it, has few defenders nowadays, and fewer devotees; but as practical men we are curious to know the

precise extent of our classical inheritance, the value in dollars of the wisdom of the Greeks. Professor David Eugene Smith finds it easy to show, in the little book before us, that Greece left us a legacy of Mathematics which has proved worth its weight in gold. Some hundred and fifty small pages are not much to tell the story in; but there are bigger books for those who want them, and those who want a little one may be well content with what Professor Eugene Smith supplies, for his book is excellent of its kind. There are two main chapters in it; the one gives an outline sketch of what Greek mathematicians actually achieved, and the other describes, with no small skill, the influence which their work had on later ages, the help they gave, the firm foundations they contributed, to the building of our modern Mathematics. The very notation of mathematics harks back to Greece as does the swineherd's speech to his Saxon forefathers or the huntsman's to the Norman court. All our Geometry is either based upon, or finds a point of departure in, that best of lesson-books the *Elements* of Euclid. The modern Theory of Numbers has its roots deep in Greek Arithmetic; for the Pythagorean doctrines of 'amicable numbers' and such-like were no idle fancies, but enshrined truths important in the eyes of men like Euler and Mersenne. The Bernoullis were inspired by Nicomedes, Hippas and Archimedes; Archimedes and Apollonius had more than an inkling of the co-ordinate geometry of Descartes; and Diophantus laid the firm foundations of algebra, though without its symbolism and without its name. The mathematical principles on which all our astronomy depends were either completely or essentially discovered by Greek mathematicians; even the petty problems of our school books, questions of credit and interest, of the valuation of alloys, of the filling of cisterns, of the sharing of an inheritance, and harder indeterminate problems which we approach through algebra—all these are the direct descendants of problems familiar in the schools of Greece. Lastly, if any man suspect or dare maintain that mathematics is more than a working-tool for the actuary, the astronomer or the engineer, Professor Eugene Smith may help him in his contention, showing him that Plato was of the same mind. For as the Master praised an Arithmetic which, as taught to children, amuses them at first, then awakens their intelligence, induces them with useful knowledge and may turn them into business-men, so he bore witness also to a Geometry reaching beyond all needs of common life, exalting the mind, imbuing it with the spirit of philosophy, drawing men a little nearer towards the Absolute and the Eternal, telling of things which are everlastingly true.

D'ARCY W. THOMPSON.

*A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect.* By RICHARD JOHN CUNLIFFE. One volume. 9" x 6½". Pp. x + 445. London: Blackie and Son, Ltd. 30s.

THIS is not a complete Homeric Lexicon. The Hymns are not included. And names of persons and places, with some thirty exceptions,

are not to be found in it. Patronymics are also banned. Surely descriptions such as *Μολλίονε* and *Εὐνήνιν* might have been explained. These limitations are to be regretted. No doubt the cost and size of the volume had to be considered, but much space might have been saved by the omission of many entries that could be needed only by the veriest beginner. What student of Homer requires to be told what parts of what verbs *ἔβην* and *ἰών* are? And though the wording is generally concise, there are occasional lapses. It was hardly necessary to print before *φαληριώοντα*, 'nom. pl. neut. pres. ppl.' The paper, too, seems unnecessarily thick. A Dutch Homeric Lexicon, Mehler's *Woordenboek*, contains about the same amount of matter in half the bulk.

But the important points are the interpretations, and the classification and distinction of the various meanings and uses of a word, and in these respects the work appears to be extremely well done. Mr. Cunliffe is commendably cautious, and his chosen guides, Monro, Leaf, and Merry and Riddell, are as good as could be found. But in a number of instances one solution of a difficulty is too readily assumed to be sufficient. There is more to be said about, e.g., *ἀμφιστρεφής*, *δέελος*, *πῶτ'* (*ἐμβασιλευεν*), *σαυρωτήρ*. In regard to etymology, learned disquisitions are eschewed, and only brief derivations or connexions are given. But there is some inconsistency here. Thus there seems to be no reason why the derivations of *σιφλόω* and *φορβή* should not be supplied, while those of *χολόω* and *ὀπωπή* are stated. The philology is sometimes questionable. *ρίμφα* is given as from *ρίπτω*, which neither Prellwitz nor Boisacq mentions *s.v.* But it is better to refrain from criticism where there is so much that is uncertain even to the experts.

We have had in this country a translation of Crusius' Homeric Lexicon, and also one of Autenrieth's. The present Lexicon is an advance on both. To the Homeric grubber, Ebeling's *Lexicon*, Gehring's *Index*, and the Concordances will still be indispensable. But a new edition of Ebeling is much to be desired. The original one, published forty years ago, is in some respects a curiosity. Who would have the stubborn hardihood to search for some use or occurrence of *κε* in the eighty-eight crowded columns devoted to it? *μᾶλα κεν θρασυκάρδιος εἶη*. To find one's way through an entry of any length is like the proverbial search for a needle in a haystack. And the valuable philological matter and the references to the literature of the *Realien* require to be purged, corrected, and brought up to date. But to the classes of students that Mr. Cunliffe has in view his Lexicon will be of real use, and it will be a welcome addition to any Homeric library. A small school edition, with the proper names included, might hasten a consummation devoutly to be wished, the commencement of Greek reading with Homer.

The type is clear and the printing has been extraordinarily well done. I have not noticed any slip. The instructions in the preface will have to be carefully studied by the user. There is, e.g., a special use, for verbs only, of the obelus (†).

A. SHEWAN.

*Zahl und Gestalt bei Platon und Aristoteles.*  
Von JULIUS STENZEL. One vol. Pp. viii  
+ 146. Leipzig: Teubner, 1924. 6 gold  
marks.

IN this book Dr. Stenzel follows up his *Studien zur Entwicklung der Platonischen Dialektik*. He tries to show that the application of the method of *Diaeresis* to the derivation of numbers and of mathematico-physical atoms throws light on the latest phase of Platonism and on Aristotle's criticism of the Idea-Number doctrine. The subject is extremely obscure, and in some places I have failed to understand Dr. Stenzel's treatment. His scheme of *Diaeresis* as applied to numbers seems to me arbitrary and not borne out by testimony. The later part, dealing with space, is more illuminating. The whole treatise certainly deserves the attention of any student of the subject. F. M. CORNFORD.

*Aristophane, Tome I.: Les Acharniens, Les Cavaliers, Les Nuées.* Text and Translation by V. COULON and H. VAN DAELE. Pp. xxii + 230. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923. Price 20 fr.

THIS is the first volume of the new Budé edition of Aristophanes, in which M. Coulon is responsible for the recension of the text and M. van Daele for the translation. M. Coulon, who is already well known for his work on the author, provides an ample *apparatus criticus* and a cautiously constructed text. It is not his fault if it does not differ greatly from most of the texts of Aristophanes which have been published during the last fifty years. No fresh evidence has come to hand during that period except the papyri, and they leave the problem of the text pretty much where it was before. They corroborate a few simple emendations, such as a singular for a plural or an imperfect for an aorist, but in all else they represent the current text, and the only text that has been current since Aristophanes of Byzantium.

The translation by M. van Daele is good and, so far as an Englishman may presume to judge, spirited in style. There are a number of misprints which await correction in a second edition—e.g., the *personae* in *Ach.* 1078, *Eq.* 4788, *λείχος* p. 124, Gorgias of *Leontium* p. 150. F. W. HALL.

*Aristotle on Comedy.* With an adaptation of the *Poetics*, and a translation of the *Tractatus Coislinianus*. An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy. By LANE COOPER. Pp. xii + 323. Oxford: Blackwell, 1924. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

WHAT little is known or can be safely conjectured about Aristotle's views on Comedy can easily be stated in a very few pages, and it may be doubted whether it was worth while to devote some three hundred to the matter. The core of the book is an adaptation of the *Poetics*, substituting 'comedy' for 'tragedy' wherever possible, and making such alterations as were suggested to the writer by the vestiges of Aristotelian (or supposed Aristotelian) theory which remain. The result is very unconvincing; it is hardly conceivable that Aristotle would ever have used practically the same language or followed

exactly the same plan in writing about comedy as about tragedy; and the unsatisfactoriness of this treatment forces itself upon the reader on every page. The adaptation is preceded by an Introduction, in which all possible sources of information about Aristotle's views on comedy are discussed in a somewhat rambling and tedious manner. Professor Cooper is interested in showing that Aristotle must really have appreciated Aristophanes, in spite of his animadversions on the Old Comedy; and that the *Tractatus Coislinianus* is a good authority for Aristotelian theory. The *Tractatus* is translated, and illustrated by a great accumulation of examples drawn from ancient and modern comedy: but except in so far as it epitomises the extant *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, it remains very doubtful whether its contents are Aristotelian at all. The translation of *ἀμολρον* by 'imperfect' needs explanation; and *ὑποκρίσµα* is a wider term than 'diminutives,' even though Aristotle illustrated it by citing diminutives in the *Rhetoric*. Whatever may be the meaning of *ἡ δὲ τῆς μεγάλῃς χρεῖαν τοῖς δράμασι τὴν συμφωνίαν παρέχει*, it is very doubtful whether it can be rendered 'spectacle of great advantage to dramas in supplying what is in concord with them,' and probably *συμφωνίαν* is corrupt, as Bernays thought.

The book ends with a discussion, reprinted from *Classical Philology*, of *Poetics* 1455a 12-16, on the Discovery which is *συνθετὴ ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ τοῦ θατέρου*, but as the writer is evidently unacquainted with the full reading of Riccardianus 46 (which can be found e.g. in Margoliouth's edition, p. 83) he has not the full problem before him.

Professor Cooper intends his book mainly for the use of students of English literature; perhaps they will discover more in it that is of service to them than students of the Classics are likely to find.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

*Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections.* By GEORGE H. CHASE, Ph.D. Pp. xv + 222. 262 half-tone figures. H. Milford for the Harvard University Press, 1924. £1 11s. 6d. net.

OF the eight lectures here published, seven deal each with a period of ancient sculpture, first outlining the history with reference to a few of the more important monuments in European collections and then discussing the relevant material in America. The last lecture considers briefly the essential characteristics of ancient art. The book is very fully illustrated, and as the figures, though small, are for the most part clear, it will be useful to English readers as a convenient repertory of the very remarkable collections which are now to be found in America. A. S. F. GOW.

*Quantitative Implications of the Pyrrhic Stress especially in Plautus and Terence.* By LINWOOD LEHMAN. One vol. Pp. 75. University of Virginia, 1924.

READERS of what may, without disrespect, be called 'tripudic' literature will not find in this



work by a disciple of Professor Fitzhugh much to surprise them. Others, however, will read with interest the story of the unscrupulous fraud perpetrated by 'a wily Greek grammarian, one Tyrannio Amisenus by name,' who 'bestowed on the Latin language a false musical accent like that of the Greeks.' Till the year 1908 the fraud prevailed. In that year Professor Fitzhugh 'announced' his Tripudic Theory, the theory of the Pyrrhic Stress or Double Accent, the 'key that will unlock all doors' (p. 9), and now all is plain. For two thousand years it had been supposed that the metres of not only the Augustan poets, 'Vergil and his crowd,' but also the dramatists, 'Plautus and his crowd,' were quantitative. This theory is false. Plautus, 'who was not so well practised in the art of quantitative camouflage' (owing presumably to his having escaped the stimulus of association with the wily Tyrannio), betrays the influence of the Sacred Tripudium constantly; and even Vergil, who 'was a deal more sophisticated in Greek metrics,' shows 'a calm disregard for quantity' in forms like *constitērunt, potitur, fervere* and many others (p. 11 n.) To understand Latin verse we must master the principles of the Tripudic Rhythm, the 'sole rhythmic law of which is the maintaining of the *dinumeratio* or double count of the stresses' (p. 13). 'It is an arsisless measure, in which an initial acute thesis is contracted with a medial or secondary acute or grave stress in arsis' (*ib.*). Further, 'pyrrhic combinations are confined entirely to thesis or entirely to arsis, because they represent a single unified breath-throb which being uninterrupted cannot be divided between thesis and arsis' (p. 20).

It is undoubtedly true that the 'ancient, natural, and necessary laws' of the Sacred Tripudium have been consistently excluded from all scientific and artistic inquiry' (p. 81). Students who can understand Mr. Lehman's explanation of it will be in a position to apply themselves to this neglected industry.

J. FRASER.

*De Cassii Dionis Vocubulis quae ad ius publicum pertinent.* By G. VRIND. One vol. Pp. viii + 173. Hagae Comitum: Bernard Mensing, 1923.

THIS is a valuable book. Its format is attractive; its indices are good; it is written in lucid Latin; and its scholarship is sound. Dr. Vrind is to be thanked for a production which will soon be included in his outfit by every serious student of Cassius Dio.

Greek versions of even the more common terms of Roman public law are a subject so vast that the work of Professor Magie—which still remains no less useful than it has always been since its publication—leaves room enough for several detailed studies of individual authors and their practice in this matter. That Cassius Dio should be the first Greek historian of Rome to come by separate treatment is natural: he at least was familiar with his subject and, like all writers in the happy condition of knowing precisely what they want to say, uses his terms with a consistency which makes possible some

serious inquiry into the exact meaning he attached to each. Nor is it less appropriate that this service to Cassius Dio should have been rendered by a Dutch scholar.

The book itself is more for reference than for reading. After a full collection of evidence to justify our denial of verbal accuracy in the reproductions of Dio by Xiphilinus and Zonaras, Dr. Vrind goes on to examine Dio's usages one by one. Sometimes his results are of importance. He demonstrates with ease that *ἐπιτροπος* is Dio's Greek only for a *procurator* whose business was with finance. For others he has other terms: a *procurator et praeses*, for instance, is either *ἀρχων* or *τραπεζ*. Again there is value in the long argument to prove that, when *ἀρχή*, *ἡγεμονία* or their cognates are localised by a geographical term in the dative after *ἐν*, the command concerned was never that of an official province. From this it would follow that *ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡγεμονία* of Dio himself was almost certainly the command of *leg. III.*, and this conclusion Dr. Vrind supports in a convincing essay designed to prove that Numidia was not formally provincialized until the last years of Severus Alexander. It should be added that the elaborate foot-notes as well are often of interest: in one on p. 32 students of Roman history will find some sensible remarks on Dr. McFayden's views about the title *imperator*. Finally there must be recorded a promise whose fulfilment will receive a hearty welcome. Dr. Vrind announces on p. 168 that in the near future he will publish—what is long overdue—a criticism of Paul Meyer's theories on the speech of Maecenas.

HUGH LAST.

*A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases.* By J. C. HOPPIN. Pp. xxiv + 510, with 133 plates and 217 figures. Paris: Édouard Champion, 1924. 200 francs.

THIS volume, comprising black-figure and South Italian wares, completes the *corpus* of the works of Greek vase-artists begun in the two volumes of the author's *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*. Professor Hoppin is to be gratefully congratulated on having accomplished this most useful and most laborious undertaking. The advantage to the student of vases of having in the compass of three volumes a repertory of all the signed vases known and of all the vases attributed to the hand of any vase-artist, all but completely illustrated and richly furnished with references, is too obvious to need comment.

The new volume is less attractive than its predecessors, because the artists who signed black-figure vases were fewer and less accomplished than those who signed the red-figure, and because comparatively little work has yet been done in attributing unsigned black-figure vases to artists' hands. A large number of pages are perforce occupied with the many and often uninteresting vases from the workshop of Nikosthenes or with the vases of the miniaturists, the latter more valuable as specimens of the potter's than of the painter's craft. The better vases, such as those that bear the names



of Amasis, Exekias, Kolchos, and Nearchos, occupy comparatively little space.

A notable improvement on the previous volumes is the addition of headings to the pages, which much facilitates reference. When a vase has been attributed on grounds of style to a certain vase-artist, Professor Hoppin has usually indicated in his references who made the attribution, but sometimes (for example, under Exekias, Nos. 11, 12, and 15) he has unfortunately not done so. But this is the only case we noticed of any reasonable help to the student having been omitted.

Finally we must mention the commendable enterprise of the Librairie Champion in publishing so elaborate and costly a work.

E. M. W. TILLYARD.

#### *Zwei Kapitel aus dem griechischen Bundesrecht.*

Von H. SWOBODA. (Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, CXCIX. 2.) Pp. 74. Vienna and Leipzig : Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A-G., 1924. 3.50 Swiss francs.

RECENT years have witnessed a considerable increase in the available evidence relative to the Greek leagues, and a marked quickening of interest in the study of this characteristic phenomenon of the Hellenistic period; and the present discussion by an authority of the first rank deserves a warm welcome, though it is largely concerned with problems or details and is evidently addressed primarily to experts.

Its first chapter deals with federal citizenship (*Bundesbürgerrecht*) and its relation to the citizenship of the individual πόλις composing the larger unit, and, by a careful examination of the extant grants of *προξενία*, *ἐγκλησις* and *ἐπιγαμία* by one state to citizens of other states comprised in the same *συμπολιτεία*, shows that 'even in the *συμπολιτεία* the individual city maintained a far more independent position than has been hitherto believed.'

The second chapter falls into two sections, dealing respectively with the *συμπολιτεία* of Ceos and with that of Eastern Locris. By a detailed survey of the evidence, mainly epigraphical and numismatic, the author has succeeded in making important corrections in and additions to our knowledge of the history and organisation of these two federations. It must, however, be admitted that the materials at our disposal are too meagre to afford a complete picture, and that problems and gaps still remain. The Ceian cities, Swoboda maintains, formed a 'synoecistic sympoliteia' shortly before the year 222 B.C., in which the Aetolians passed a decree according protection to the Ceans, and in return received from them the grant of *ισοπολιτεία* (*Sylloge*<sup>3</sup> 522). But the union was not long-lived, for by 206 Poessa had already been swallowed up in Carthaea, and at some later date Coresia was merged in Iulis.

The concluding section deals with the puzzling and fragmentary history of the Eastern Locrian *κοινόν* from the third century B.C. down to the reign of Caracalla. The author seems to have made the most of his

scanty materials, notably Locrian and Delphian inscriptions, but until agreement is reached in the dating of the Delphian archons much of the reconstruction must remain doubtful. Thus the author has accepted the chronological conclusions of Pomtow in Dittenberger's *Sylloge*,<sup>3</sup> but ruefully notes in his Addenda that Pomtow has subsequently altered his views and moved back an important group of third-century archons as much as twenty or even thirty years!

The usefulness of the work is enhanced by the addition of geographical and subject indexes.

M. N. TOD.

#### *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft.*

Festschrift für WILHELM STREITBERG. Pp. xix+670. Heidelberg : C. Winter, 1924. Paper, 22 Marks; bound, 24.50 Marks.

*Untersuchungen zur allgemeinen Akzentlehre.* Von DR. ALFRED SCHMITT. Pp. xvi+209. Heidelberg : C. Winter, 1924. Paper, 5.50 Marks.

*The Numeral Words, their Origin, Meaning, History, and Lesson.* By MELIUS DE VILLIERS, M.A., LL.B., sometime Chief Justice of the Orange Free State. Pp. 124. London : H. F. and G. Witherby; Cape Town : Juta and Co., Ltd., etc., 1923.

*Language and Philology.* By ROLAND KENT, Ph.D. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, Vol. XXII.) Pp. 174. London, Calcutta, Sydney : Harrap and Co., Ltd., 1924. Cloth, 5s. net.

A GROUP of the pupils and friends of Professor Streitberg have combined to commemorate his sixtieth birthday by the publication of this series of essays, in which the state of our knowledge and the prospects in each of the branches of Indo-European Comparative Philology are surveyed. The importance of the result is mainly bibliographical, most of the writers having contributed what is in effect a short history of their division of the subject during the last generation or more (the sketch of German studies by V. Michels even goes back to Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*). A minority of writers (such as H. Zeller on Armenian) have preferred to write a less detailed article such as might be of use to one who knew nothing of the language in question, but was thinking of commencing the study. Another minority have chosen to devote the whole or part of the available space to original contributions towards the solution of problems; F. Sommer, for instance, writes on Vedic Sandhi, A. Walde on *O-farbige Reduktionsvokale im Indogermanischen*, J. Weisweiler gives a history of the Old High German word *euua*; and F. Specht's account of the Baltic languages includes some expression of personal opinions on current questions. Johannes Friedrich's account of the results of Hittite philology is useful, but already to some extent superseded by several works which have appeared between its composition and the writing of this review.

Dr. A. Schmitt's book, a Rostock dissertation, shows familiarity with a wide range of phonetic literature, but his survey of accentuation and

intonation has not led to strikingly new results. A limitation of the scope of the enquiry and a sharper formulation of the problem ought to have been attempted.

The study of the Numeral-words which stands third on the above list is written in a commendably clear and readable style and is mainly anthropological in character. On the linguistic side it suffers on the one hand from too exclusive reliance on the older writers on the subject, and on the other from a tendency to raise questions to which perhaps no answer can ever be forthcoming.

Professor Kent's work, which gives an account of the importance of the Latin and Greek elements in modern English, seems to be designed for the general public rather than for those who know Latin and Greek. The Greek alphabet is used sparingly, and ought perhaps not to have been used at all.

RODERICK MCKENZIE.

*Senecas Apocolocyntosis.* By O. WEINREICH.

One volume. Pp. xii + 149. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923.

THIS book opens with twelve pages of general introduction, and closes with fourteen of translation, but it consists chiefly of a very full analysis, combined with elaborate discussions of various special problems. Weinreich's chief aim is to define those elements which are derived directly or indirectly from the Menippean tradition, and to distinguish and elucidate Seneca's loans from other sources, and also his really original strokes. He is deeply indebted to Helm, but claims, with justice, that he has obtained some fresh and valuable results from the renewed study of Lucian, Varro, and Lucilius. The analysis is subtle and thorough, and there is an almost excessive wealth of illustrative comment from literature, papyri, and inscriptions. Only a few points can be mentioned here. Weinreich accepts *Apocolocyntosis*, and shows that this title is not inconsistent with the present conclusion of the satire; he argues convincingly that this conclusion is the original one. He decides that at least one sheet of the archetype has been lost before c. 8. Among the most interesting pages are those which deal with the paratragic passages: these Weinreich holds to be *self-parody* by Seneca, especially of his own *Hercules Furens*: he discusses the problems of dating which this view involves. In an amusing passage on pp. 53-55 he suggests (with illustrations from Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and German literature) that in c. 4 Claudius' soul should perhaps be conceived as leaving his body by an unusual channel. The translation, so far as a foreigner may judge, seems to be faithful and spirited, but it is surely an error in tact to translate 'Claudius ut uidit funus suum, intellexit se mortuum esse' by 'Als Claudius sein Leichenbegängnis sah, da begriff er, dass er mausetot sei.'

D. S. ROBERTSON.

*Jews and Christians in Egypt.* (The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy.) Edited by H. IDRIS BELL, O.B.E., M.A. Pp. xii + 140. Five colotype plates (facsimiles of papyri). British Museum. 1924.

OF the three parts into which this book is divided, the first is of most interest to readers of the *Classical Review*; the letters connected with the Meletian schism, and the correspondence of Paphnutius, are more the concern of the student of Christian Egyptology, though it is to be noted that one of the letters in the last-named may possibly be an autograph of Saint Athanasius himself: Mr. Bell has marshalled the evidence with praiseworthy impartiality.

The first section is of distinct historical importance. Somewhere about A.D. 38 there had been a serious anti-Jewish riot in Alexandria, and the disturbances continued; on the accession of Claudius an embassy proceeded to Rome (1) to congratulate the new emperor, (2) to ask for certain favours, and (3) to present the official *apologia* of the city for the trouble with the Jews. This long document is the reply of Claudius, with the prefect's edict ordering its publication, preserved in the archives of Philadelphia (now Darb el-Gerza) in the Arsinoite nome. The Emperor preserves a studied caution throughout; he accepts some but not all of the honours voted to him; he grants the usual favours asked, but defers for further enquiry the question of an Alexandrian senate, and he recommends forbearance with the Jews—with a sting in his friendly counsel: 'I tell you plainly that if you do not desist from this baneful and obstinate mutual hostility, I shall perforce be compelled to show what a benevolent prince can be when turned to just indignation.'

The editing is of that consistent high level that we have learned to expect from Mr. Bell; in the Christian part three Coptic texts are printed and translated by Mr. W. E. Crum. How pleasant and easy would be the historian's task, if all his raw material were edited as competently as this! S. GASELEE.

*Texts illustrating ancient Ruler-worship.*

Edited by C. LATTEY, S.J., M.A. (Texts for Students, Nos. 35 and 35a.) Pp. 23 and 32. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Company), 1924. Paper, 6d. each.

No. 35 contains well-chosen texts of Greek and Latin, with short prefaces; 35a repeats the prefaces, translates the texts, and adds some commentary. Let me find just one fault. It was as ambassador to the King of Persia, not to Alexander, that Timagoras did what caused the Athenians to put him to death; in an extract which mentions no king but Alexander, βασιλέα (with no article) should not be translated 'the king' (No. 35a, p. 13).

Every student who has a shilling should buy these two good little books.

E. HARRISON.

*A Classified Catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets, and Maps in the Library of the Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and Roman Studies.* 4to. Pp. xvi+336. London: Macmillan, 1924. Boards, 15s. 6d. net (to members of either Society, 7s. 6d.).

A MODEL and a masterpiece. Mr. Penoyre has deserved well of the republic of letters. Before they draw upon the Library's riches with this new help, members might note—and fill—some of its gaps: *e.g.*, under Thucydides there is no Hude, under Catullus no separate text save L. Müller's of 1880, under Tacitus no Furneaux. E. HARRISON.

*A History of Greek Literature.* By H. N. FOWLER. New and revised edition. Pp. x+503. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. Cloth, 14s. net.

THE publishers obligingly tell us that 'This author is among the few writers who have successfully managed to present their material in proper balance to its intrinsic merit.'

In the score of years since the first edition of this book appeared the author might have learnt that the *Basilēia* of the *Birds* is not *Basilēia*, and in the dozen years since the discovery of the *Ixpevral* that that play is not concerned with the infant Dionysus. More important, he might have revised many judgments and adjusted his proportions; but the second edition is no better than the first. *Οὐ πολὺ ἀλλὰ πολὺ.*

E. HARRISON.

*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 1922.* Vol. LIII. Published at Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.

HERE are two articles on the Appendix Vergiliana: one by H. R. Fairclough, who doubts whether, apart from the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, a single line of genuine Virgilian work has survived; and one by A. R. Bellinger, who ascribes the *Ciris* to Virgil on the strength of its echoes of Catullus. Metrists should read E. H. Sturtevant on syllabification and syllabic quantity, and C. W. E. Miller on the pronunciation of Greek and Latin prose. Of great interest is W. G. Hale's pronouncement on the MSS. of Catullus: his warning against the hasty conclusions of Stampini and Pascal (but why is there nothing about Morgenthaler?) and his half-promise that he will give us his own results within a few years. *Quousque tandem?* To report what else this rich volume contains

would be a grind which I must leave to the slow mills of *Bursian*. E. HARRISON.

*The Subject Index to Periodicals, 1920.* I. Language and Literature. Part I. Classical, Oriental and Primitive. Pp. 27. 4to. Published by The Library Association: London: Grafton and Co., September, 1923. 2s. 6d. net.

WELL planned and well edited, but anglocentric—*e.g.*, the only German periodicals from which classical items are drawn are the publications of the Prussian Academy. E. HARRISON.

(1) *Zu den berliner Zauberpapyri.* (2) *Les papyrus magiques grecs de Paris.* (3) *Die Versuchung Christi.* By S. EITREM. Three vols. Pp. 15, 49, and 37. In (1), one plate; in (2), three plates. Christiania: The first two by Jacob Dybwad, the last by Gröndahl and Son, 1923 and 1924.

THESE three pamphlets are of some importance, despite their modest size. The first consists simply of a number of corrections, based on a re-examination of the original, of the text of Parthey's edition of the Berlin papyri 5025 and 5026. The second contains similar corrections of the great Paris papyrus, also based on examination by the author. It then proceeds to give a complete new text of the curious document known as the Papyrus Mimaout of the Louvre, the decipherment of which offers many difficulties owing to its broken condition.

The third pamphlet is an ingenious application of Professor Eitrem's great knowledge of ancient magic to the story of the Temptation in the synoptic Gospels. His thesis is, that all the temptations have for their object to induce Christ to become a magician. The scene on the pinnacle of the Temple recalls the aerial flights of the magi of Persia and elsewhere; the view of the kingdoms of the world and the Devil's claim to possession of them has many parallels in magic; and the condition, *ἐὰν πεισῶν προσκυνήσῃς μοι* (Matt. iv. 9, *cf.* Luke iv. 7), is one which, if we substitute Set-Typhon for Satan, many magicians fulfilled. The story is in part a counterblast to the famous accusation in Matt. xii. 24, etc., of a Satanic origin for Christ's powers. The general theory is very plausible; several details, however, are not likely to commend themselves on careful examination, and some of these are criticised in an appendix to the work by A. Fridrichsen, p. 24 ff. H. J. ROSE.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

### PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(MARCH-MAY, 1924.)

GREEK LITERATURE. — *Pindars Pythien.* Erklärt von O. Schroeder [Leipzig, 1922, Teubner. Pp. vi.+127] (Sitzler). Materially furthers our understanding of Pindar; metri-

cal, linguistic, and explanatory notes concise, but very successful. — *Aristophane. Tome I.: Les Acharniens—Les Cavaliers—Les Nules.* Texte établi par V. Coulon et traduit par H. van Daele [Paris, 1923, Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres.' Pp. xxxii+230] (Wüst). Text good, and marks

a welcome advance on all previous editions; useful introduction and reliable critical notes; translation (opposite text and in prose) unequal. — E. Samter, *Volkskunde im alt-sprachlichen Unterricht. I. Teil: Homer* [Berlin, 1923, Weidmann] (Helck). S. divides his copious material into thirty-five chapters dealing with different points of folklore; exceedingly helpful for interpretation of Homer; plentiful bibliographical references and full index. — V. de Falco, *L'epicureo Demetrio Lacone* [Naples, 1923, Biblioteca di filologia classica. Vol. II. Pp. 111] (Philippson). F.'s attempt to be comprehensive results in sacrifice of thoroughness. Reviewer criticises and discusses in detail. — G. Limberger, *Die Nominalbildung bei Polybios* [Stuttgart, 1923, Kohlhammer] (Laqueur). Material collected and carefully grouped; important contribution to our knowledge of the literary language in Polybius' times. — K. A. Δάσκαρις, *Φῶς εἰς τὸ Θουκυδίδειον ἔρεβος* [Athens, 1922, Eleftheroudakis and Barth. Pp. iv+136] (Ammon). Critical studies in Thucydides; penetrating, lively, to the point.

**LATIN LITERATURE.** — P. Ovidius Naso. *Vol. III., Fasc. I. Tristium libri V., Ibis, Ex Ponto libri IV.* Ediderunt R. Ehwald et F. W. Levy [Leipzig, 1922, Teubner. Pp. x+320] (Magnus). An urgently needed new edition. Text carefully revised and much improved; critical apparatus not as complete or conveniently arranged as reviewer desires. — Tacitus' *Germania*. Erläutert von H. Schweizer-Sidler. Erneuert von E. Schwyzer, 8 Aufl. [Halle, 1923, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses. Pp. xiv+164] (Gudeman). Conservative text; very full and up-to-date commentary, revised throughout and with copious bibliographical references; introduction still remains weakest part of this edition. — T. Lucretius Carus *de rerum natura*, lateinisch und deutsch von H. Diels. Bd. I. [Berlin, 1923. Pp. xlv+410] (Hosius). The best critical edition of Lucretius that has yet appeared. — C. Valerius Catullus, hrsg. und erklärt von W. Kroll [Leipzig, 1923, Teubner. Pp. xii+294] (Helm). A first-rate edition. Introduction clear and impartial, text conservative, commentary fulfils its object in every way.

**HISTORY.** — F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Erster Teil: Genealogie und Mythographie* [Berlin, 1923, Weidmann. Pp. ix+536] (Weber). Long and mainly favourable review. J.'s courageous and unselfish devotion to his immense task deserves grateful recognition.

**ARCHAEOLOGY.** — Baalbek. *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905.* Herausg. von Th. Wiegand. Bd. II. von D. Krencker, Th. von Lüpke, H. Winnefeld [Berlin, 1923, de Gruyter. Pp. xiv+151; 201 figures and 69 plates] (Thomsen). Vol. II. contains—(a) a description of the smaller temple, usually called the temple of Bacchus, the 'best preserved example of a Roman temple

on the grand scale;' (b) researches by Winnefeld on the history and the ancient cults of Heliopolis. The magnificent illustrations deserve special mention.

**PAPYRI, ETC.** — F. Bilabel, *Griechische Papyri, veröffentl. aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen. Heft 2* [Heidelberg, 1923, Winter] (Kiessling). Collection of documents covering the period from the Ptolemies to sixth century A.D. Careful text and brief commentary. — P. Viereck, *Griechische und griechisch-demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg. Bd. I.* [Berlin, 1923, Weidmann. Pp. 356] (Kiessling). Masterly edition of texts ranging from third century B.C. to sixth century A.D. Commentary to follow in Vol. II. Full indices.

### NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLASSISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC.

(LIII./LIV. 4, 1924.)

G. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen*. [Munich, 1923] (F. Koepf). L. knows the monuments well, but method and arrangement are fundamentally faulty, and there are serious omissions. — F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (F. Gr. Hist.) I.* [Berlin, 1923] (E. Bette). Excellent, but comparative tables of C. Müller's numbering are urgently needed. B. hopes that Vol. II. will give these for both Vol. I. and Vol. II. — K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres. Klio, Beiheft XIV. (N.F. Heft. I.)* [Leipzig, 1923] (W. Judeich). Admirable, and extraordinarily thorough. The maps are the least satisfactory feature. — B. Niese, *Grundriss der Römischen Geschichte nebst Quellenkunde. Fünfte Auflage, neubearbeitet von E. Hohl (Handb. d. kl. Alt. III. 5)* [Munich, 1923] (W. Judeich). The revision is very well carried out, but the new archaeological and philological material for the earliest period is not adequately given. Elsewhere H. has been rather too ready to accept the newest theories. But the book remains an excellent one.

### MUSÉE BELGE, XXVIII. Nos. 2-3.

APRIL-JULY, 1924.

R. Scalais, *La Prospérité agricole et pastorale de la Sicile depuis la Conquête romaine jusqu'aux Guerres serviles.* — L. Laurand, *Le 'Cursus' dans Végèce.* — L. A. Constans, *Note sur deux Inscriptions de Volubilis.* — P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste. III. Le Marché romain et la Tour des Vents.* — P. Faider, *Cespitare.* — N. Hohlwein, *Le Stratège du Nome.* Origin and functions (Ptolemaic and Roman). — A. Carnoy, *Le Nom de Posidon.* νόρος, master, and element 'wet' seen in Don, Danuvius. — J. Herbillon, *Une Leçon de Discipline augurale (C.I.G. 2953).*

**MUSÉE BELGE: BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE,**  
XXVIII., No. X. (JULY, 1924.)

GREEK.—*Euripides*: L. Parmentier and H. Grégoire. Tome III., *H.F. Suppl. Ion.* [Paris, 'Les Belles Lettres,' 20 fr.], 'Masterly' (A. Willem).—*Plato*: A. Croiset and L. Bodin. Tome III., *Prot. Gorg. Meno.*—A. Diès, Tome VIII., 1<sup>e</sup> partie, *Parménide*.

[Same publisher, 16 fr. and 10 fr.]. Favourable (R. Kremer).

GENERAL.—M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les Monarchies hellénistiques* [Paris, Boccard, 1921, 40 fr.]. 'Masterly' (R. Scalais).—R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, and L. Châtelain, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique* [Paris, Leroux, 1923]. Suppl. to *C.I.L.* VIII. Favourable (G. Mercier).

## CORRESPONDENCE

MR. R. J. WALKER'S ADDENDA  
SCENICA.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DEAR SIRS,

I hope you will insert the following postscript to my review of the above-named book in the last number. It has been pointed out to me that I have misunderstood Mr. Walker's statement on p. 306 that 'contrary to custom there is silence as to who came *δέιρεπος* and who *ρπλρος*.' I understood this to refer to the inscription printed on the same page, whereas

Mr. Walker was commenting on the incompleteness of the record preserved in the Argument. I tender Mr. Walker a sincere apology for this regrettable misrepresentation, and for inviting the reader to take the supposed error as a specimen of the character of the book. I am, however, bound to add that in my opinion the statement, when properly understood, does not strengthen Mr. Walker's contention. These Arguments are variously mutilated, and the same deficiency occurs in the Arguments to the *Persae* and the *Philoctetes*.

Yours faithfully,  
A. C. PEARSON.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

\* \* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Brown (A. C. B.) The Shorter Tacitus (Annals XI.-XVI.). Arranged and edited for the use of schools by A. C. B. B. Pp. xix+120. London: G. Bell, 1924. Cloth, 3s.

Charlesworth (M. P.) Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire. Pp. xx+288. Cambridge: University Press, 1924. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

Classical Philology, Vol. XIX., No. 3, July, 1924.

Cocchia (E.) La letteratura latina anteriore all' influenza ellenica. Parte prima. Elementi fantastici d' ispirazione popolare nella mitologia romana. Pp. x+265. Naples: Rondinella and Loffredo, 1924. Paper, 12 lire.

Delatte (A.) Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum. Codices Athenienses descripti A. D. Tomus X. Pp. viii+291. Brussels: Lamertin, 1924. Paper, 25 frs.

Diels (H.) T. Lucretius Carus de Rerum Natura. Band II. Lukrez, Von der Natur; übersetzt von H. D. S. xii+312. Berlin: Weidmann, 1924. Geheftet, 9 M.

Dittmer (W. A.) The Fragments of Athenian Comic Didascaliae found in Rome (*J.G.* 1097, 1098, 1098a). Pp. 54. Leyden: Brill, 1923. Paper.

Dodds (E. R.) Select Passages illustrative of Neoplatonism. Arranged and edited by

E. R. D. Pp. iv+91. London: S.P.C.K., 1924. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

Glover (T. R.) Herodotus. Pp. xv+301. Berkeley: University of California Press (Cambridge: University Press), 1924. Cloth, 18s. net.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XXXIV. Pp. 200. Cambridge (U.S.A.): Harvard University Press (London: Milford), 1923. Boards, 6s. 6d. net.

Hose (H. F.) Dulwich Latin Exercises for Middle Forms. Pp. 128. London: Kegan Paul. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

Jaeger (W.) Stellung und Aufgaben der Universität in der Gegenwart. S. 27. Berlin: Weidmann, 1924. Geheftet, 80 M.

Jones (W. H. S.) The Doctor's Oath: An Essay in the History of Medicine. Pp. 62. Cambridge: University Press, 1924. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Kromayer (J.) Antike Schlachtfelder. Bausteine zu einer antiken Kriegsgeschichte. 4. Band: Schlachtfelder aus den Perserkriegen; aus der späteren griechischen Geschichte und den Feldzügen Alexanders und aus der römischen Geschichte bis Augustus. 1. Lieferung. Pp. 170; plans and photographs. Berlin: Weidmann, 1924. Geheftet, 7.50 M.

- Kromayer-Veith.* Schlachten-atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte. 120 Karten auf 34 Tafeln mit begleitendem Text. 3. Lieferung: römische Abteilung, IV.: 49-31 B.C.
- Lees* (B. A.) *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum.* Edited by B. A. L. Pp. xxxii+156. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Lindsay* (W. M.) *Palaeographia Latina.* Part III. (St. Andrews University Publications, XIX.). Pp. 66; 15 plates. London: Milford, 1924. Paper, 5s. net.
- Lindsay* (W. M.) *T. Macci Plauti Captivi.* With introduction and notes. Revised edition. Pp. 120. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 3s. net.
- Lindström* (S.) *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae Epistulae XXXII. cum Epimerismis Lacapeni. Accedunt duae epistulae Michaëlis Gabrae ad Lacapenum. (Collectio Scriptorum Veterum Vpsaliensis.)* Pp. xiii+246. Göteborg: Eranos' Förlag, 1924. Paper, 10 Kr.
- Litteris.* An International Critical Review of the Humanities. Vol. I., No. 1. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. September, 1924.
- Lyon* (P. H. B.) *The Shorter Herodotus, Books I.-V. Selected and arranged, with brief notes by P. H. B. L. (Bell's Shorter Classics.)* Pp. viii+168. London: G. Bell, 1924. Cloth, 3s. 6d.
- Mackay* (D. S.) *Mind in the Parmenides: A Study in the History of Logic.* Pp. 114. Printed by C. Browne of Los Angeles.
- Map of Roman Britain.* Published by the Ordnance Survey, Southampton, 1924. Paper, 4s.
- Murray* (G.) *The Rise of the Greek Epic.* Third edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. xxiv+356. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cloth, 14s. net.
- Pearson* (A. C.) *Sophoclis Fabulae. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit A. C. P. (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.)* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Paper, 5s. 6d. net; cloth, 6s. 6d. net; India paper, 8s. 6d. net.
- Persson* (A. W.) *Staat und Manufaktur im Römischen Reiche. (Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund. 3.)* Pp. 143. Lund: Gleerup, 1923. Paper, 5 Kr.
- Φωτιάδης* (Π. Σ.) *Ἀττικὸν Δίκαιον. Ἀνατύπωσις ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἑπετηρίδος τῆς Νομικῆς Σχολῆς.* Pp. 15. Athens: P. G. Makris, 1924. Paper.
- Pfuhl* (E.) *Meisterwerke Griechischer Zeichnung und Malerei.* Pp. 90; 126 illustrations. Munich: Bruckmann, 1924. Broschiert, 12 M.; halbleinen, 14.50; ganzleinen, 16.
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